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The Leading Facts of History Series

THE LEADING FACTS OF FRENCH HISTORY

BY

D. H. MONTGOMERY

There is hardly any great idea, hardly any great principle of civilization, which has not had to pass through France in order to be disseminated.

GUIZOT

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PREFATORY NOTE

THIS work is based mainly on the French histories of Guizot, Rambaud, Martin, and Duruy, supplemented with notes made by the author during a somewhat prolonged stay in France.

In addition to the above-mentioned authorities, Kitchin's standard English history of France and Sir James Stephen's and Lord Acton's lectures have been consulted on points of particular interest. Other works to which reference has been made will be found in the List of Books given in the Appendix.

The author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Charles H. Smith, Professor of History in Yale University, who kindly read the proof-sheets of the first edition of this book and made many valuable suggestions in the course of its preparation.

Since then it has been repeatedly revised and extended, and it now includes some account of the supreme effort of the French people to maintain their national independence in the greatest war which the world has ever known.

DAVID H. MONTGOMERY

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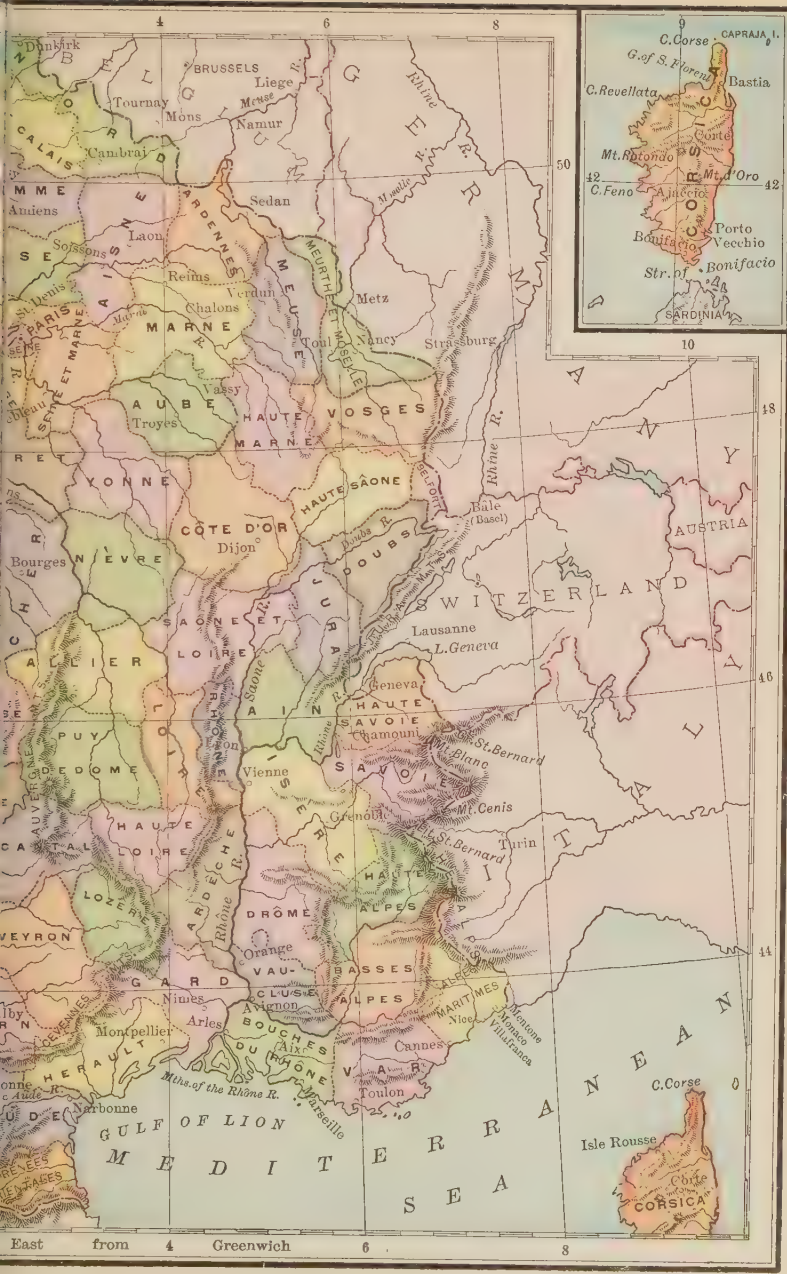
MODERN FRANCE
IN DEPARTMENTS.
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SPAIN
Exeter
Plymouth
Portland Bill
Start Pt.
Lizard Pt.
Southampton
Portsmouth
Brighton
Beachy Hd.
Hastings
Pevensey
Str. of Dover
Somme R.
I. of Wight
C. de la Hague
Cherbourg
Le Havre
Dieppe
SEINE INF'R
Harfleur
Seine R.
La Hogue
ALDERNEY I.
GUERNSEY I.
JERSEY I.
St. Anne
BARK I.
ISLANDS
Bayeux
Caen
CALVADOS
St. Malo
Brest
COTES DU NORD
Loudeac
FINISTERRE
MORBIHAN
Quimper
Vannes
ILLE ET VILAINE
MAYENNE
ORNE
Alençon
SARTHE
LOIR ET CHER
Blois
Nantes
LOIRE INFRE
MAINE ET LOIRE
Loire R.
LOIRE
Tours
INDRE ET LOIRE
VENDÉE
DEUX SEVRES
Poitiers
VIENNE
La Rochelle
CHARENTE INFERIEURE
CHARENTE
HAUTE VIENNE
Gironde R.
DORDOGNE
Bordeaux
Garonne
GIRONDE
Dordogne R.
LOT ET GARONNE
TARN ET GARONNE
LANDES
GERS
Toulouse
Bayonne
Biarritz
BASSES PYRENEES
Pau
HAUTE PYRENEES
Canal du Midi
HAUTE GARONNE
ARRIE
REPUBLIC OF ANDORRE
6
4
2
0
50
48
46
44
4 Longitude 2 West 0 Longitude


4
6
8
9
10
50
42
48
46
44
Dunkirk
BELGIUM
BRUSSELS
Liege
Tournay
Mons
Meuse R.
Namur
Rhine R.
GERMANY
CALAIS
Cambrai
NORD
Sedan
Maselle
Amiens
Laon
Soissons
SOMME
AISNE
ARDENNES
MEUSE
MEURTHE ET MOSELLE
Reims
Verdun
Metz
St. Dizier
Chalons
Toul
Nancy
Strasburg
MARNE
Vassy
AUBE
Troyes
HAUTE MARNE
VOSGES
YONNE
HAUTE SAÔNE
BELFORT
Rhine R.
Bale (Basel)
CÔTE D'OR
Dijon
Bourges
NIEVRE
DOUBS
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
SAONE ET LOIRE
Lausanne
L. Geneva
ALLIER
Saône R.
JURA
AIN
Geneva
HAUTE SAVOIE
Chamouni
Mt. Blanc
St. Bernard
PUY DE DOME
Lyon
Vienne
SAVOIE
Grenoble
Mt. Cenis
HAUTE LOIRE
St. Bernard
Turin
ARDECHE
Rhône R.
DRÔME
HAUTES ALPES
LOZERE
VEYRON
Orange
VAUCLUSE
BASSES ALPES
GARD
Nimes
Avignon
MARITIMES ALPES
Menton
Mentone
Villafranca
Nice
Montpellier
Arles
BOUCHES DU RHÔNE
Aix
Cannes
VAR
HERAULT
Mths. of the Rhône R.
Toulon
Narbonne
Marseille
C. Corse
GULF OF LION
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Isle Rousse
Cape Corse
CORSICA
C. Corse
CAPRAJA I.
G. of S. Fiorenzo
Bastia
C. Revellata
Corte
Mt. Rotondo
Mt. d'Oro
C. Feno
Ajaccio
CORSICA
Porto Vecchio
Bonifacio
Str. of Bonifacio
SARDINIA
East from Greenwich

THE LEADING FACTS OF FRENCH HISTORY

SECTION I

The Gauls . . . their virtues and their vices are preserved in the hearts of the French people. — MICHELET.

GAUL BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

1. The Country and its People. — What we know to-day as France once formed the greater part of a much larger territory which the Romans called Gaul.[1]

The boundaries of Gaul were the Atlantic on the west, the Alps and the Rhine on the east and north, the Pyrenees and Mediterranean on the south. Looking at the map,[2] we see that the country was an irregular square, and that it possessed the best situation in Europe. It was wholly within the temperate zone. It was favored with an abundance of fertile soil, a climate admirably suited to agriculture, and equally advantageous to health. It was well protected against invasion by

[1] The Romans called the country Gaul, a name which they derived from its inhabitants, the Gauls, — a word of unknown meaning, though supposed by some authorities to signify "barbarians."

The Gauls were mainly a Celtic race, and are believed to have had their origin in Asia. At an early period they overran central and western Europe and the British Islands. Gaul included the countries now known as France and Belgium, together with parts of Holland, Switzerland, and western Germany — or the region between the Pyrenees and the Rhine (Map No. II, page 2). The total area was about 245,000 square miles. Modern France embraces a little more than 204,000 square miles, or about four fifths the area of the state of Texas.

[2] See Map No. II, page 2. To see the square form to the best advantage, hold the map so as to look across it in a slanting direction from southeast to northwest

barriers of seas and mountains. Finally, the Atlantic on two sides, and the Mediterranean on the other, gave it the means of commercial intercourse with the most important countries of the globe; in a word, Gaul was evidently fitted by nature to become the home of a great and prosperous people.

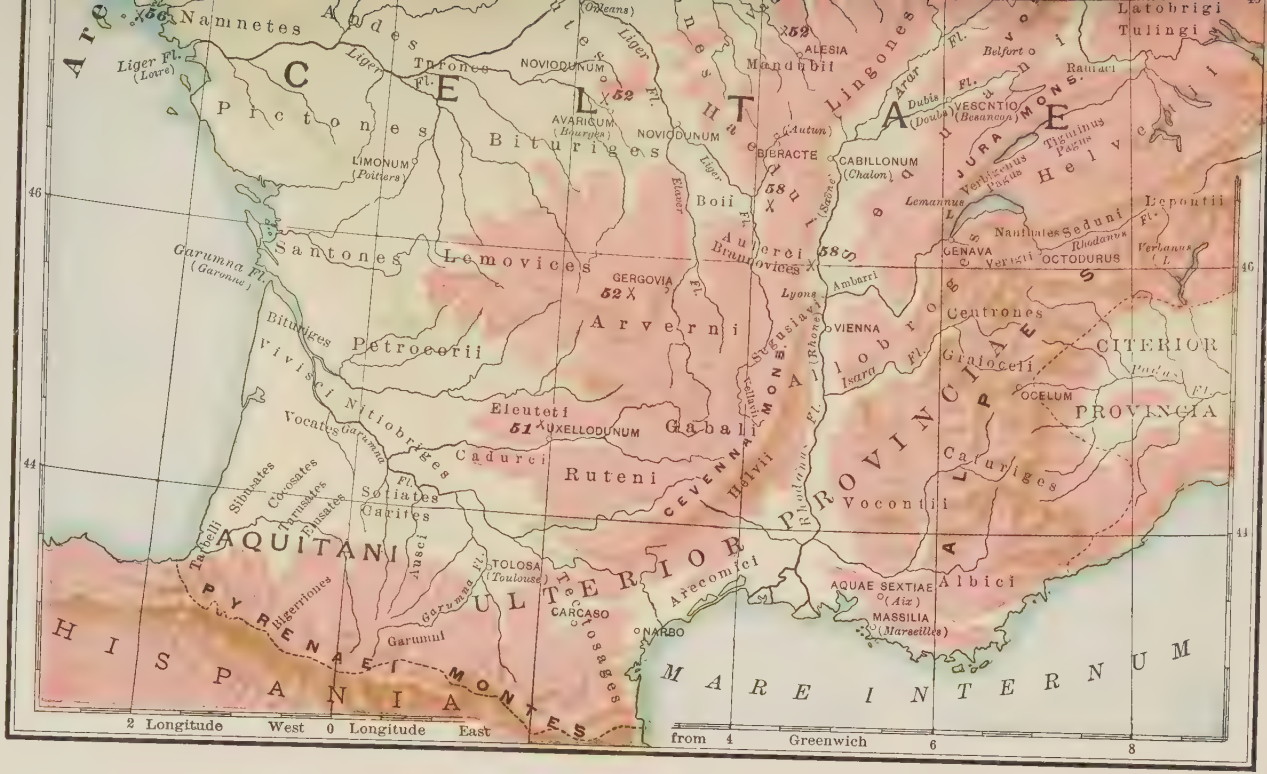
2. **Monuments and Remains of the First Inhabitants.** — The people that first inhabited the country were savages. They had neither written laws nor history. We find, however, a partial record of their life in the remains of their cave habitations, their burial mounds, their rough-stone monuments, and their lake dwellings. At Carnac, a little village of Brittany, in the extreme west of France, the traveler crossing the moors sees at a distance what seems to be an army of giants advancing toward him.

As he draws nearer, the army proves to be a multitude of upright bowlders of rough granite covered with long white hairy lichens, — the growth of ages. These stones, the largest of which are upwards of twenty feet high, are arranged in regular order like troops following their leader. They extend in long lines from the southeast to the northwest, and they give all who see them the impression which would be made by a military force halting on its march.

Some have supposed that they are part of the remains of a vast heathen temple like that of Stonehenge, England. Others think they were set up to mark some decisive field of battle or important gathering of warriors. But these theories are at best pure conjecture. One thing only is certain: that these mysterious monuments were raised by human hands, and represent human purpose. The peasants call them "memory stones," because to them they recall the buried race that labored to erect them, ages, perhaps, before the Pharaohs laid the foundations of the Pyramids.[1]

[1] See Hunnewell's Historical Monuments of France for a good picture of the stones at Carnac.

GALLIA ANTIQUA
ROMAN MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
ENGLISH MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
NOTE. The numbers on the map give the years of the respective battles and campaigns
BRITANNIA
MONAU.
Trinovantes
54
LONDINIUM (London)
Atrebates
Belgæ
Regni
Cantii
55 (Dover)
Tamesis Fl. (Thames)
Damnoni Durotriges
Wissant
ITIUS PORTUS (Boulogne)
Flevo L.
Batavi
(Meuse)
Rhine
(Scheldt)
Frisii
Grudii
Levaci
Menapii
Morini
Atrebates
Ambiani
Caleti
Veliocasses
Lexovii
Aulerci
Eburovices
Parisii
Meldi
Osismi
Coriosolites
Esuvii
Aulerci
Civitates
Aenellii
Sequana Fl.
Ambibarii
Rotomagus (Rouen)
SAMAROBRIVA (Amiens)
Viromandui
NOVIODUNUM (Soissons)
Bellovaci
LUTETIA (Paris)
Sequana (Seine)
LIBRAX
MELODUNUM
Sequana
Matrona
Sequana Fl.
Sabis (Sambre)
Namurci
Aduatuci
Condrusi
Eburones
Segni
Cæmani
Cærosi
Treveri
Arduenna Silva
ADUATUCA (Tongres)
53
54
55
57
Rhenus Fl.
Mosa Fl.
Ubii
Bacenis Silva
Coblenz
Vangiones
Mediomatrici
Tribocci
Nemetes
Harudes
GERMANIA
52
50


Namnetes
Andes
Liger Fl. (Loire)
Turones
NOVIODUNUM
Liger Fl.
Ligeris Fl.
CELTICA
Senones
Mandubii
ALESIA
Lingones
Sequani
Latobrigi
Tulingi
Belfort
Rauraci
Arar Fl.
Dubis Fl. (Doubs)
VESONTIO (Besançon)
JURA MONS.
Helvetii
Pictones
AVARICUM (Bourges)
NOVIODUNUM
Bituriges
(Autun)
BIBRACTE
CABILLONUM (Chalon)
Tigurinus Pagus
Verbigenus Pagus
Lemannus L.
Leponti
Limonum (Poitiers)
Liger Fl.
Boii
Aedui
Sequana Fl. (Seine)
Nantuates
Seduni
Rhodanus Fl.
Verbanus (L.)
GENAVA
Vergii
OCTODURUS
Garumna Fl. (Garonne)
Santones
Lemovices
Aulerci Brannovices
GERGOVIA
Arverni
Lyons
Ambarri
Allobroges
Centrones
Bituriges Petrocorii
Vivisci
Nitiobriges
VIENNA
Isara Fl.
Graioceli
CITERIOR PROVINCIA
Eleuteti
UXELLODUNUM
Gabali
Vocates
Garumna
Cadurci
Ruteni
Helvii
Rhodanus Fl.
OCELUM
Caturiges
Tarbelli
Sibillates
Cocosates
Tarusates
Elusates
Soliates
Garites
AQUITANIA
Ausci
TOLOSA (Toulouse)
Volcae Tectosages
Arecomici
Voconti
Albici
AQUAE SEXTIAE (Aix)
MASSILIA (Marseilles)
PYRENAEI MONTES
Bigerriones
Garumni
CARCASO
NARBO
HISPANIA
ULTERIOR
MARE INTERNUM
2 Longitude West
0 Longitude East
from Greenwich
4
6
8
46
44

In the same district there are extensive burial mounds. In these, tools and weapons of stone and of metal have been found. They were in all probability deposited with the bodies of their owners to aid them in their silent journey to that world whose existence the barbarian never doubts, and for which in his own simple way he invariably prepares.

Again, in those parts of the country where caves occur, an examination of the earth in them reveals quantities of ashes, split bones, and fragments of various rude utensils. They show that these caves were once dwelling places, and that they were occupied by successive generations of men.

Finally, in the beds of many lakes — for instance, that of Geneva — the ruins of ancient villages have been discovered. These villages were log huts, built on rough platforms, extending over the water. They were probably constructed there as a means of security against the attacks of savage beasts or of still more savage men. They offered the further advantage of a constant supply of fresh water and fresh fish, so that their garrisons were in no danger of dying from either thirst or starvation in case they were besieged by the enemy.

From these and similar remains we can form a tolerably clear idea of the condition of the early races of Gaul, even at a period so remote that northern Europe was a vast field of glacial ice and southern Europe simply a wilderness of unbroken forest.

3. The Cave or Rough-Stone Men and their Successors; the Celts. — The first inhabitants were probably the cave men. They built no houses and formed no communities, but lived apart like wild beasts, in the gloom and damp of their subterranean homes. In some cases they may have constructed rude shelters of piled stones, or dug holes in the sides of hills for the same purpose. They had no tools but their fingers; they had no weapons but clubs or sharp-edged stones.

They lived on roots and berries, and on such fish or game as they could manage to catch or kill. In time, however, they learned to make hatchets and spearheads of flint, and they invented the bow and arrow. With these tools and weapons they could fell trees and hunt the mammoth and the reindeer, of which they have left drawings scratched on the tusks and bones.

Following the cave or rough-stone men, there came a people who were able not only to shape, but to polish, their flint implements and weapons. They built huts in the forest or on the borders of the lakes. They learned, too, how to make rude pottery and to weave coarse cloth. Furthermore, they kept cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs; they raised some grain; they tamed the wolf or wild dog, and trained him to defend their dwellings and to help them hunt game.[1]

Still later came the Celts, bringing with them tools and weapons of bronze.[2] They kept all the useful animals, and lived largely by the cultivation of the soil. It was apparently a later and more warlike branch of the Celts to whom the Romans gave the name of Gauls. They were a stalwart race, with long light hair, dyed flaming red, and fierce blue eyes. They overran the country between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, which henceforth got the Latin name of Gaul.

The Gauls were for a long period the terror of all nations. They scorned the use of armor, and stripped themselves for battle as the Greeks did for athletic sport. When the call to arms was heard, they rushed to the field with a shout of joy; the man who came last was tortured to death as a wholesome

[1] The dog seems to have sprung from some animal of the wolf species. The Eskimo dog can, in fact, hardly be distinguished from the gray wolf. Cuvier says that the domestic dog is "the completest, the most singular, and the most useful conquest made by man."

[2] Bronze: this is a mixture of copper and tin. It can be made nearly as hard as steel, and takes a sharp and quite a durable edge. Chisels made of it can be used in dressing stone.

warning to the rest. After a battle the victors cut off the heads of their enemies and carried them home. Out of these they made a selection. The skulls of common men they nailed over their doors as ornaments, or made them into drinking cups; but those of noted warriors were carefully embalmed and kept in cedar chests, as precious relics to be brought out on great occasions.

This strange people was full of resources. They were imaginative, inventive, and impulsive; they had, too, that peculiar power which refuses to stay beaten, but after every defeat speedily recovers itself and is ready for a fresh effort. Yet notwithstanding this elasticity of temperament, the Celtic peoples were never able to permanently withstand the advance of those German races which followed and drove them before them. Later, we shall see that Gaul was to be no exception to this rule.

4. The Gauls take Rome; the Romans enter Gaul. — In the sixth century B.C. the Celts or Gauls, who had perhaps already invaded Britain, crossed the Alps and took possession of northern Italy.[1] For two hundred years they threatened to march south and make themselves masters of Rome, but they were repulsed again and again. Each time, however, they renewed their attacks, raiding the provinces and carrying off captives. At length, 390 B.C., they stormed and took the Latin capital. The inhabitants, with the exception of a few illustrious men, sought refuge in the citadel; but these last, scorning to fly, seated themselves in the great public square of the Forum, and there awaited their fate.

The spectacle of these venerable fathers of the city, sitting there silent and motionless as statues, struck even the barbarians with awe: to them they seemed not men, but gods. At

[1] Later, the Romans called that part of Italy where the Gallic invaders had settled Cisalpine or Hither Gaul, to distinguish it from Gaul proper (*i. e.*, France, etc.), which they designated by the name of Transalpine or Further Gaul.

length a warrior, more daring than the rest, stepped forward and ventured to stroke the long white beard of one of the senators. He resented the familiarity with a blow. That rash act broke the spell. The enraged Gauls fell upon their valiant but helpless foes, and soon left their bleeding corpses lying in the dust of the Forum, amid the smoking ruins of the city.

The Romans, however, bought off their victors, and eventually succeeded in beating back and conquering the Italian Gauls.

A solemn curse was then pronounced on any one who should cross the Alps, which were declared to be the natural barriers of Rome. The Romans themselves were the first to cross, in an expedition to aid their allies, the Greeks, who had planted a flourishing city in Gaul, which they called Massalia, and the Romans Massilia, but which is now known as Marseilles. This city, which was the great rival of Carthage, begged the help of Rome against the barbarians. The Romans sent an army, and not only drove off the enemy, but established a settlement of their own on the shores of the Mediterranean. This was the first time a Latin legion had permanently set foot in Gaul. They called their new colony the Province, a name which has since become changed to Provence.[1]

5. The Germans overrun Gaul. — As the Gauls became more civilized, they lost much of their old warlike spirit. Then a fiercer people swept down from the north. The German tribes on the shores of the Baltic and the North seas were bent on conquest. They, with other barbarians, burst into Gaul at different points, burning, pillaging, massacring. Early in the second century B.C. they resolved to drive out the Celts of Gaul, and then to attack Rome. Marius,[2] the Roman general, fully alive to the danger which threatened the city,

[1] Provence (prō-vŏns′). [2] Ma′rius.

determined to meet the Germans in Gaul. He encountered them near Aix (102 B.C.),[1] in the vicinity of Massalia. The conflict raged for two days; it terminated in the crushing defeat of the invaders.

It is said that more than a hundred thousand dead were left on the battlefield, which got the name of the "Putrid Plains" from its heaps of unburied and decaying corpses. Years afterward, those who tilled the soil in that vicinity used to plow up broken weapons and rusty shields, and the peasants propped up the grapevines of their vineyards with human bones. Had the conflict resulted in the victory of the northern barbarians, the progress that Gaul had made might have been destroyed, and the whole future of the country changed.

6. Summary. — Looking back, we see that the Celts or Gauls laid the foundation of modern France. Their vivacity, love of glory, and contempt of danger, their elastic and impulsive temperament, and their intellectual quickness are still characteristic of the brilliant and powerful people that have in great measure sprung from them.

Different elements, it is true, were destined to come in later, and to have a most important influence; but still the races that first peopled Gaul did, perhaps, more than any other toward shaping the future of the nation. Originally these Celtic tribes had, as we have seen, no history; but none the less, barbarians though they were, they prepared the way for all the history that was to follow.

[1] Aix (āks).

SECTION II

There are facts which are naturally detested, . . . despotism, for instance; . . . yet if they have contributed in some way to civilization, then up to a certain point we pardon them. — GUIZOT.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION OF GAUL (58 B.C.–A.D. 481)

7. Cæsar's Battle with Ariovistus; his Account of Gaul. — Fifty-eight years before the birth of Christ, Julius Cæsar set out to conquer the German tribes which were then invading Gaul, and to take possession of the country for Rome. Before beginning the war, however, he sent a message to the German chief, Ariovistus,[1] proposing negotiations. Ariovistus sent back word: "If I wanted anything of Cæsar, I should go to him; if Cæsar wants anything of me, let him come where I am."

Cæsar answered by ordering Ariovistus to desist troubling the Gauls, threatening to punish him if he did not. Ariovistus replied: "If Cæsar wishes to try it, let him come, and he will find what can be done by men trained to arms, inured to hardships, and who have not slept beneath a roof for fourteen years."

The result of this defiance was a battle in which the bold barbarian was hopelessly beaten, and shortly after died. This commenced a series of campaigns against not only the Germans, but the Gauls, who had now risen in insurrection. The war lasted nine years. Cæsar's object was twofold: first,

[1] Ariovis'tus.

to extend the dominion of Rome; next, to obtain fame, wealth, and political power for himself.

From the notes which he made we get our first clearly drawn picture of the country and its people.[1] The written history of Gaul begins at this point. Cæsar divides the country into three districts: that of the Belgians in the north, of the Aquitanians in the southwest, and of the Celts or Gauls in the center. Of the people he says there were likewise three classes, — warriors, priests, and slaves. The first was the nobles, who disdained work and lived by fighting. The next class was the priests, or Druids,[2] as they were called.

The Druids were not only religious teachers, but judges, physicians, and educators. They represented whatever learning and mental culture then existed, and from them the people derived their first rude notions of geography and astronomy. As with the Celts of Britain, so here, the Druids conducted their worship in the gloomy recesses of the primeval forests, or in temples of rough stone open to the sky. They taught that there is one supreme God, represented by the sun, giver of light and life, and by the clear flame of burning wood rising heavenward from the altar. To that God they sometimes offered human sacrifices, in the belief that no gift can be so precious and so acceptable as the blood and the life of man.

To them the mistletoe, a parasitic evergreen plant growing on certain trees, seemed especially sacred. When by chance they found its slender green branches clinging to the leafless oaks in winter, they gathered it with mystical ceremonies, regarding it as an emblem of human immortality, and also as a medicine which might impart new life to the sick and the dying.

1 See Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War.

2 Druid: a name sometimes derived from the Greek δρῦς, *an oak*, but really of unknown origin.

The Romans had lost much of their early faith in a future existence; great, therefore, was their astonishment to find that these barbarians had such implicit belief in it that they did not hesitate to lend money to be repaid in another world! Well might the warriors of such a race fight desperately, since they were convinced that, if slain, they would rise again to enjoy a heaven where fighting never ceased.

The last class was the slaves. Their existence shows how the Gauls had advanced. At first they had killed their prisoners of war. Later they saw that this was poor economy, and that, instead of chopping off their captives' heads, it was much wiser to make them till the soil, cut the wood, tend the cattle, and cook the food for their masters. Slavery was thus a first step in humanity and civilization: it saved those who would otherwise have been destroyed.

When Cæsar entered the country, the Gauls had long since ceased to be mere savages. They lived in settlements of circular, dome-shaped huts made of wood and clay,[1] which were protected against attack by a ditch, with an embankment or wall set with sharp stakes.

They had made considerable progress in the arts, had learned how to mine and work metals, used iron weapons and armor, and excelled in weaving cloths of brilliant and variegated colors.

8. Cæsar's Campaigns and Final Victory. — Still, in such a contest the Romans had every advantage except that of brute strength. First, they had an immense force of thoroughly disciplined and admirably equipped veteran troops, led by the greatest general in the world. Next, they had a permanent base of supplies in the Greek seaport of Massalia,[2] of which

[1] One of these huts is represented on the column of Antonine at Rome. It is made of poles bound together with twigs, and was probably plastered with clay. It had a door, but no window, with perhaps an opening at the top to let out the smoke.

[2] Massalia: see Paragraph 4.

Cicero did not hesitate to say that "had it not been for her help, Rome would never have triumphed over the barbarians."

Yet these northern races were, after all, a formidable foe even for Cæsar. Their gigantic stature and fierce appearance inspired such dread that the Roman soldiers, at first, it is said, shed tears at the sight of them and used to make their wills before going into battle. The country, too, was almost wholly a wilderness; and Cæsar had to fight his way with ax and spade, cutting roads and building bridges, before he could fight with the sword and spear.

At last, after incredible hardships, he conquered; but it was a conquest of devastation and, in some districts, of extermination as well. He had subdued three hundred tribes, taken eight hundred towns, slain a million of fighting men, and captured and sold another million into slavery.* At Avaricum,[1] out of a population of forty thousand, only eight hundred escaped. At Uxellodunum[2] Cæsar cut off the right hands of the entire male population, in order to prevent their ever making any further resistance. At Dariorigum[3] he put all the chiefs of the tribe to death, and sold the rest at auction. In some cases such multitudes were slaughtered that the swamps and streams were filled with the dead bodies, and the Roman troops marched over them as on bridges.

Alesia, a fortified town in eastern Gaul,[4] was the last place to hold out. It was built on a rocky height, and was defended by Vercingetorix,[5] one of the bravest of the Gauls, who was commander in chief of their forces. Cæsar surrounded this stronghold with a line of intrenchments upwards of fifteen miles in

* See Plutarch's Julius Cæsar.

1 Avar'icum: now Bourges (bo͞orzh).

2 Uxellodu'num: the site of this place has not been positively determined, but see map of Gaul, page 2.

3 Darior'igum or Veneti: now Vannes (vän).

4 Ale'sia, now Alais (ä-lā'), — see Map No. II, page 2, — was situated on a high hill near the Côte-d'Or (kōt-dôr') Mountains, in the east of Gaul, and near the head waters of one of the chief tributaries of the Seine (sān).

5 Vercinget'orix.

circumference. He was thus able to cut off all supplies and to starve the garrison into submission. When at length Vercingetorix was compelled to give himself up as a captive, the whole of Gaul was practically at the mercy of the conqueror.

Cæsar had left Rome a poor man, deeply in debt. He returned flushed with victory and laden with treasure. The city was wild with joy over the hero who had subjugated the barbarians that had menaced its safety. But, great as Cæsar was, he lacked the magnanimity to spare a helpless and prostrate foe. Vercingetorix, on his way to imprisonment and death, was led in chains in the celebration held in honor of his conqueror, while the crowded streets resounded with shouts of exultation:

"Hurrah for the great triumph
That stretches many a mile!
Hurrah for the wan captives
That pass in endless file!" [1]

When peace was declared, Cæsar changed his policy. He now endeavored to conciliate the people that had submitted to his arms. He even formed a legion of Gauls, — all picked men, — called the "Legion of the Lark," from the image of that bird worn on their helmets. This dauntless corps became his bodyguard. They crossed the Alps with him, singing like the lark whose name they bore, and during the civil war they helped Cæsar to get control of Rome and thus make himself master of the world.

9. Spread of Roman Civilization in Gaul. — Next followed the spread of Roman civilization in the subjugated territory. Among the places which Cæsar had taken was a wretched village built of reeds and rushes on a swampy island in the Seine. It was called in the Gallic language Lutetia,[2] or Mud-town, and was inhabited by a tribe known as the Parisii.[3] There

[1] Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. "The Prophecy of Capys."
[2] Lutetia (lu-te'she-ah). [3] Paris'ii.

the Romans erected a temple to Jupiter, which subsequently gave way to the cathedral of Notre Dame.

Some centuries later they built a spacious palace on the left bank of the river. It was the favorite residence of the Emperor Julian, and part of it still remains. The temple became the center of a growing population; the palace became another. Eventually the two centers united, and from these there gradually grew up the splendid capital of Paris.[1]

So in many parts of Gaul, but especially in the district bordering on the Mediterranean, stately cities rose, modeled on that of Rome. They were adorned with public squares, marble temples, theaters, aqueducts, baths, triumphal arches, statues of the emperors and the gods, and arenas not very far inferior to the Coliseum in size and splendor.[2] Of these cities, Lyons, in eastern Gaul, at the junction of the Rhone and the Saône,[3] was for a long time the most important. From it four great Roman military highways, solidly built of stone, radiated to the chief points, — to Marseilles on the south, to the Rhine on the north, to Brest on the Atlantic, to Boulogne[4] on the Channel, thence connecting at Dover with all the principal cities of Britain, which was likewise a Roman province.

These roads were cut through dense forests, carried over mountains and across rivers, through swamps, quicksands, and bogs. In many cases their beds still remain in use as the foundation of modern roads and railways, thus testifying to

[1] Paris: the temple of Jupiter, on whose site Notre Dame (Our Lady, or the Virgin Mary) now stands, occupied one end of the island of Lutetia. Julian's palace, known to-day as the Palais des Thermes (Palace of the Hot Baths), is nearly opposite, on the left bank of the Seine.

[2] At Nîmes, Arles, Carcassonne, Orange; and at Treves in the north. No city of France, or in fact of northern Europe, is so rich in Roman remains as Nîmes with its grand Amphitheater (still in use), its Temple of the Nymphs, its Baths, its elegant Corinthian temple, known as the Maison Carrée, its two Roman gates, and the magnificent aqueduct of the Pont du Gard fourteen miles distant.

[3] Saône (sōn).

[4] Boulogne (bo͞o-lōn′).

the skill of those Roman engineers who built not for their day only, but for ours as well.

But these outward and material signs of civilization were after all but the smallest part of the momentous change that came over the country. Schools, colleges, and libraries sprang up, literature and art were cultivated, Roman law took the place of barbaric custom, and the Latin language in a modified form gradually but surely usurped that of the Gauls, supplanting it in the course of centuries so completely that at the present time not one word out of a hundred in a French dictionary can be traced to a Gallic source.

For a long period the country seemed to gain by the change. Roman law was everywhere enforced; peace prevailed; justice was impartially administered; industry flourished; the taxes were light; the towns practically possessed self-government; agriculture improved; the cultivation of corn, the olive, and the vine were introduced; manufactures of flax, silk, glass, tapestry, iron, bronze, jewelry, armor, tools, and weapons increased rapidly; and the commerce of Marseilles connected Gaul with all the countries of the Mediterranean.

10. Decline of Roman Civilization; Corruption and Oppression. — But this age of prosperity was not to last. Rome, eaten up by her vices and rent with dissension and civil wars, began to totter to her fall. Then it became apparent that this splendid civilization resembled those strange, brilliantly colored plants which spring up in a night on the decaying trunks of fallen trees, — a certain sign of corruption and death.

Before the Roman conquest Gaul had liberty without order or unity; now, in the days of Roman decline, she had order and unity without liberty. The small farms were one by one bought up by wealthy men, who converted them into extensive cattle and sheep pastures tended by a few slaves. Thus the independent peasant population was gradually driven off the

land, and agriculture declined. Meanwhile taxes grew constantly heavier; for in proportion as Rome became more corrupt, and at the same time weaker, the demand for money to waste in extravagance and in the maintenance of armies for defense became more and more imperative. These demands reached such an exorbitant height, that eventually every third bushel of grain which the farmer raised was seized by the government, and the greedy army of taxgatherers, not yet satisfied, plundered for themselves as well as for the emperor.

In the cities matters were no better. A few of the inhabitants were enormously rich, but all the rest were fast becoming miserably poor. Those who had money spent it in luxury and dissipation. They were surrounded by a multitude of dependents and flatterers, who lived at their expense and ministered to their caprices and their vices. After a night of drunkenness and debauchery, the millionnaire of that age rose at noon to take his perfumed bath and drag out a languid day, hearing poems recited in his praise, listening to the latest gossip of the town, amusing himself with the songs and graceful movements of his dancing girls, or going to the arena to watch the gladiators fight for their lives with wild beasts or with each other.

But in time Rome disgusted even the rich with their riches; for she made all who had property responsible for the taxes, so that they had to pay not only for themselves, but for that ever-increasing number who could not. In their despair the moneyed class used to run away to escape their burdens. They enlisted in the army, and in some cases even sold themselves as slaves to get rid of a responsibility which was worse than actual bondage.

If a man was a workman, he was no better off. All that he earned above a bare subsistence was taken from him, and he was compelled by law to labor at his trade as long as life lasted.

His amount of work was regulated by an overseer. If he failed to do it in the appointed time, he was severely punished. If he spoiled his work, he might answer for it with his life. Finally, if he fled, he was pursued, brought back, and branded with a red-hot iron on the hand, that he might be known in future.

The law, in fact, regulated everything. A man could not set a price on his own goods; the government did it for him.[1] These oppressions destroyed all public spirit and desire for life.[2] When the Empire broke up, and the northern barbarians swept down like vultures on a dying beast of burden, the Gauls, far from resisting them, welcomed them as their deliverers and saviors.

11. Influence of Christianity. — Meanwhile another influence was at work which was destined to prepare the way for a new national life; not that of Rome, but one organized out of the material which Rome had left, joined to other elements brought in by the German tribes of the north.

Sometime during the second century Christianity appears to have reached Gaul.[3] At first the Roman emperors treated it with contemptuous indifference. Then, as it continued to spread, they became alarmed lest it should overthrow that worship of themselves which they had set up. When a Roman soldier who had become converted to the teachings of Christ refused to kneel before a bronze image of the emperor as he knelt in prayer to God, his refusal seemed little short of treason.

[1] This was done by Diocletian's Law of Maximum. See Gibbon.

[2] Every one had his chain. The farmer was bound to the soil; the public official to his office; the tax-paying citizen (curial) to his town; the merchant to his shop; the workman to his trade-corporation. — LÉVASSEUR.

[3] There is a tradition that the Apostle Paul preached in Provence; but though this may be true, nothing certain can be learned in regard to it. Most authorities suppose that Pothinus and Irenæus introduced Christianity about the middle of the second century. St. Denis suffered martyrdom at Paris about 270. He was followed by St. Martin, St. Germain, St. Hilaire, and other eminent teachers and missionaries.

Soon the government began its efforts to crush out the new faith which dared to declare that there was a power higher and holier than that of the Cæsars. The evangelists and missionaries, — such men as St. Denis,[1] who later became to France what St. George did to England, — were imprisoned, tortured, and put to death. Crowded circuses shouted their applause at seeing the tigers tear a delicate woman to pieces, or on hearing the dying groans of an aged man stretched in mockery bleeding on the cross. But no persecution could stop the spread of the Gospel among the poor and the oppressed. To them it was in very truth "the good news" of God.

In the fourth century a great change took place. The Emperor Constantine himself became a convert — at least in name — to Christianity, and established it as the state religion. From this time the bishops of Gaul set themselves to work to destroy heathenism and heresy. They pulled down the idols, and erected crosses and crucifixes in their stead. They changed the temples into churches; and if sometimes they spared the great Druidical oaks, which the country people held sacred, yet when the peasants assembled under them, they were sure to see the gracious image of the Virgin looking down upon them from amid the branches.

As time went on, monasteries and convents were founded, where the monks and nuns lived by the cultivation of the soil and the work of their hands. Hitherto, such labor had been looked upon as a disgrace — fit only for slaves. Christianity lifted it out of its degradation and made even the lowest drudgery seem honorable.

Meanwhile the Church was growing rich and powerful. During the decline of the Empire, when neither flogging nor torture could wring another penny of taxes from the poor man for the support of the government, he could yet find something to give toward the support of his religion.

[1] St. Denis (săn-dnē′).

Eventually, the bishops and clergy of the cities came to have far greater influence than the magistrates. It was right that they should, for they were then the men best fitted to wield power. The Greek philosopher, Archimedes, said of the lever, that there was nothing that could withstand its force. He declared that he could even move the world with it if he only had another world on which to rest it. The Christian Church had found that other world; and by the lever of hope and fear it moved this one at its pleasure. To its honor it must be said it generally moved it for good.

12. Results of the Roman Conquest of Gaul. — Taken all in all, therefore, Rome, notwithstanding the despotism of its later days, accomplished much that was excellent. She planted cities, fostered arts, established a uniform system of law, and introduced her language and her literature. Finally, after long and futile persecution, she gave her powerful support to the Christian Church. These were enduring benefits which no oppression could wholly destroy.

Cæsar's conquest of Gaul was marked by the most deliberate and revolting cruelty.[1] But let us suppose that he had failed, and that Vercingetorix had succeeded not only in driving out the Romans, but in pursuing them and taking Rome itself, as the barbarians did five centuries later; in that case the progress of civilization and Christianity would certainly have been seriously retarded, if not, indeed, hopelessly and finally destroyed. In Gaul the victorious armies of Cæsar accomplished what they failed to do in Britain — they Romanized the country. In England to-day we find nothing left of the Latin conquest but the buildings, roads, walls, and fortifications which the Roman soldiers constructed;[2] in France we likewise see all these, but in addition we find that nowhere else in Europe did Roman speech, Roman institutions, Roman

[1] See Paragraph 8.

[2] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

legislation, Roman worship[1] and modes of life impress themselves so deeply and so permanently.

13. **Summary.**— If Cæsar had not subjugated Gaul, it seems quite certain that the northern barbarians would have done so, and furthermore they might have threatened the existence of the "Eternal City" itself. Roman arms triumphed. They brought civilization with them; after a time they also brought oppression, corruption, and religious persecution.

In the end, however, Rome adopted and protected Christianity until it grew strong enough to take care of itself. On the whole, Rome conferred benefits which far outweigh the evil she wrought, and France has abundant reason to be grateful to the name of Cæsar and to the Latin conquest.

[1] Roman worship: meaning by this the Christian religion which Rome had adopted.

SECTION III

The Franks left comparatively slight traces behind them in the country which they named France. — SERGEANT.

CONQUEST OF GAUL BY THE FRANKS — THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS[1] (481–752) — BEGINNING OF THE CAROLINGIAN LINE (752–768)

14. Invasion of Gaul by the Germans. — For more than a century before Rome was forced to give up her hold on the province of Gaul, the Germans had been making raids across the Rhine and pillaging small districts in the vicinity of the river. When the emperors were no longer able to repel these attacks, they changed their policy and encouraged the settlement in Gaul of those tribes with whom they had formed alliances, or from whom they hired volunteers to recruit their armies.

In this way the Burgundians were allowed, if not indeed invited, to take possession of a district in the Rhone valley, which afterward got its name of Burgundy from them; so also the Visigoths settled in the southwest, where they made the city of Toulouse their capital.[2] These tribes were not only partially civilized through their contact with Roman power, but they even called themselves Christians; though,

[1] For a list of the Merovingian kings, but few of whom were sole kings of the Franks, see Genealogical Table in the Appendix.

[2] The Visigoths (western Goths) and the Burgundians were both Germanic peoples. For their settlements, see Map No. III, page 22.

as they followed the teachings of one Arius,[1] who denied the commonly accepted view of the divinity of Christ, the orthodox Catholics — that is, the great body of the Church — considered them heretics. These newcomers did not directly drive out the inhabitants of the regions where they settled; for they came, they said, not as enemies, but as "guests." But as they invariably took the best of every cultivated estate for themselves, leaving the original owners barely enough to subsist on, the latter found it hard to discover any practical difference between such "guests" and downright robbers.

Still, notwithstanding this policy of conciliation, the Roman government did not succeed in checking the raids of the North Germans. On the banks of the lower Rhine there was a people who proudly called themselves Franks, or Free Men, to mark their independence. It is doubtful if Cæsar himself could have conquered them. They were virtually of the same stock as those Angles and Saxons that had already begun the conquest of Britain,[2] and that have since colonized a large part of the globe.

These fierce tribes could not be kept back from the fair southern lands which they coveted for themselves and for their cattle. Their invasions grew more and more formidable, and it was evident that the time was coming when they would not be content to plunder the country and then go back to their native forests, but when they would seize it as a permanent possession.

15. The Huns; Battle of Châlons. — But before this occurred the Gauls were to engage in a death struggle with a different race. In the fifth century the Huns, a ferocious and hideously repulsive people, had begun to ravage Europe. Their home appears to have been in the plains of Tartary. Their

[1] Ari'us: he was a deacon of Alexandria, Egypt. He held that Christ was not equal in all respects to God the Father, but subordinate to Him. Arius was excommunicated for heresy.

[2] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

god, it was said, was a naked sword. Their chief, Attila,[1] had earned the double title of "The Dread of the World" and "The Scourge of God." Before the terror of his coming even the Franks trembled. Attila carried all before him, and compelled the Romans, who had exacted tribute from so many tribes and nations, to pay tribute to him. Finally, this formidable chieftain, followed by upwards of a million warriors, crossed the Rhine and burst into Gaul. It was a critical moment for Europe. If the invaders were not driven back, it seemed probable that all progress, intellectual or moral, would be seriously checked, if not indeed absolutely obliterated, by a horde of savages that even at the present day continue to remain barbarians and heathens.[2]

Roused to temporary unity by the imminence of the peril, Gauls, Romans, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks joined their forces, and at the decisive battle of Châlons (451),[3] Attila and his hosts, who had threatened to set up an empire of desolation, were utterly defeated; but so desperate was the fight that the ghosts of the slain were believed to have kept up the battle in the air.[4] The result was that the future was secured to those races of western Europe which have never since ceased their forward and upward march in civilization.

16. Conquest of Northern Gaul by Clovis the Frank. — The danger over, the Franks, who had settled on the left bank of the Rhine, again began to push farther and farther into northern Gaul. In 481 Clovis,[5] a Frank of fifteen, was left,

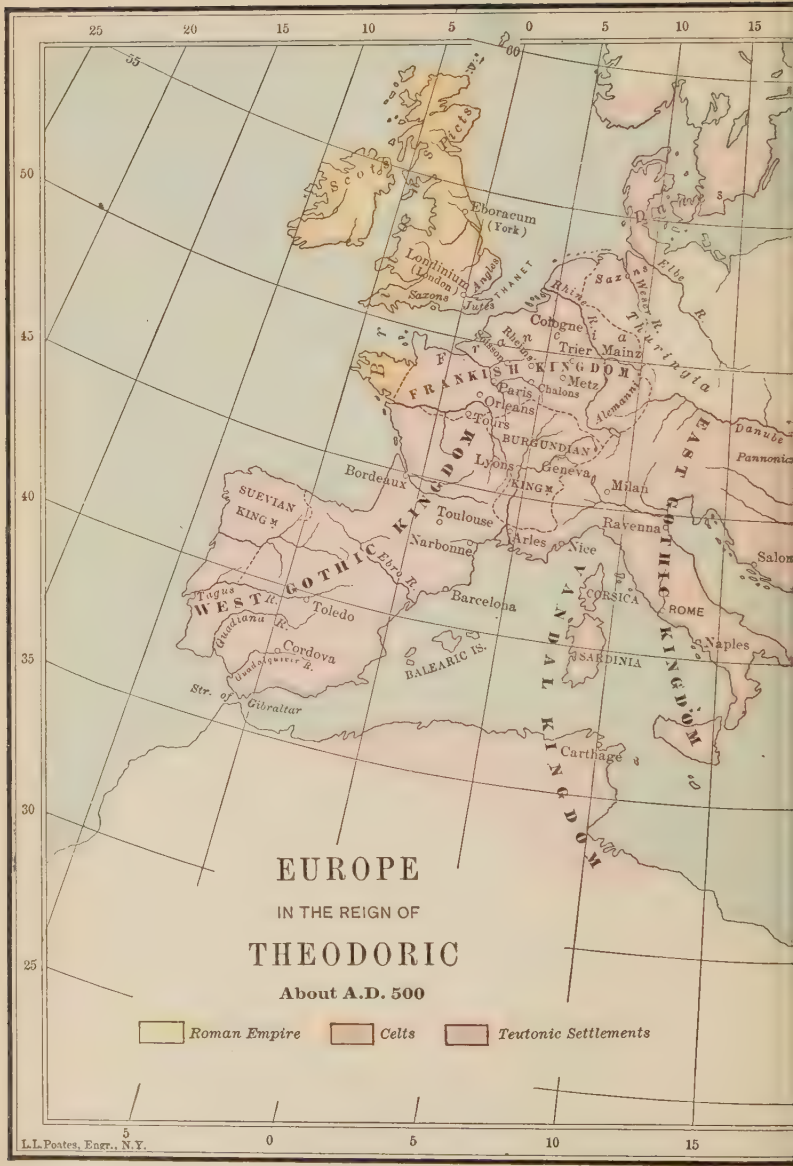
[1] Attila (ăt′ĭl-ą).

[2] These people are still the dread of the Chinese empire, and have been ever since the third century B.C., when that nation built the great Chinese wall to prevent their incursions.

[3] Châlons (shä-lôN′): on the Marne, about ninety miles northeast of Paris. See Map No. III, opposite page 22. The exact location of the battle is not settled.

[4] See Kaulbach's fine picture of this battle.

[5] Clovis (klō′vis): a softened form of the German name Hlodowig or Chlodwig.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Orleans
Tours
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Thuringia
Elbe R.
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BURGUNDIAN KINGDOM
Lyons
Geneva
Milan
Bordeaux
SUEVIAN KING
Toulouse
Arles
Nice
Ravenna
Narbonne
Ebro R.
Barcelona
CORSICA
ROME
Naples
SARDINIA
Tagus R.
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Toledo
Guadiana R.
Cordova
Guadalquivir R.
BALEARIC IS.
VANDAL KINGDOM
Str. of Gibraltar
Carthage
EAST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Danube R.
Pannonia
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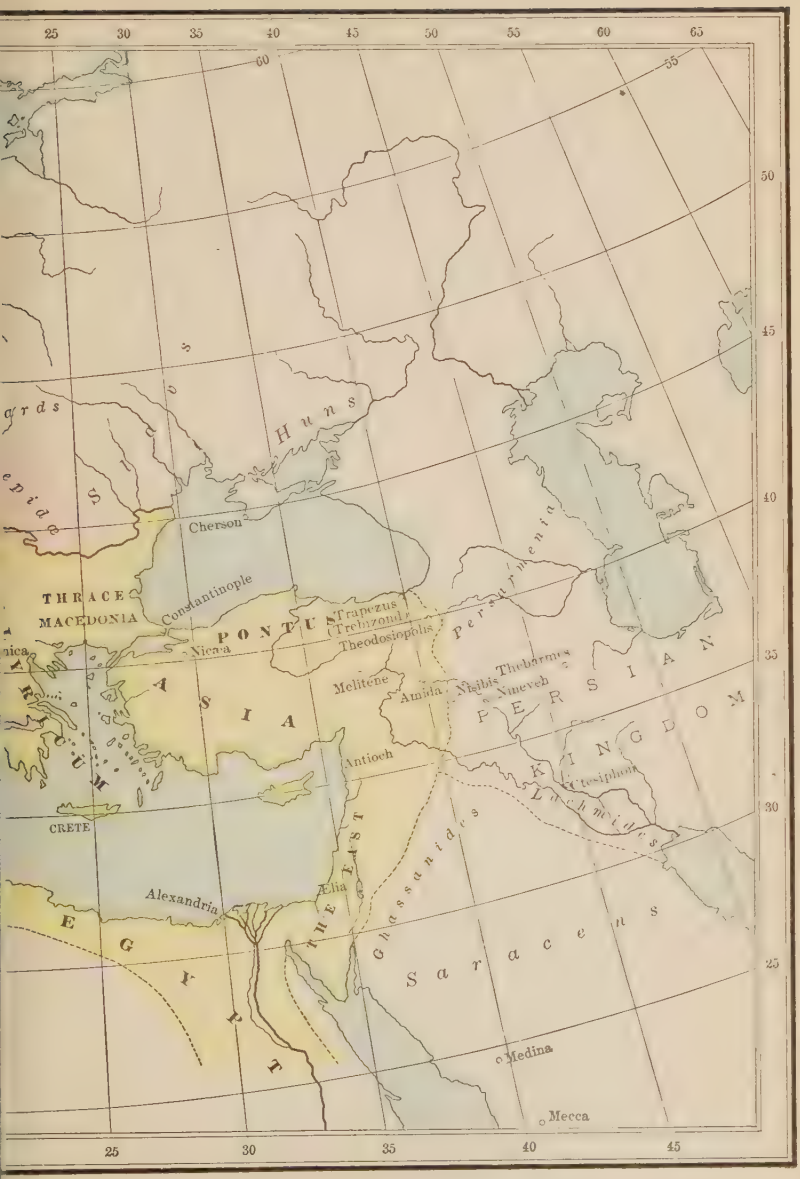
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Trapezus
(Trebizond)
Theodosiopolis
Melitene
Amida
Nisibis
Thebarmus
Nineveh
PERSIAN
KINGDOM
ASIA
Antioch
Ctesiphon
Euphrates
CRETE
Alexandria
Elia
THE EAST
Ghassanides
Saracens
EGYPT
Medina
Mecca

by his father's death, chief of a small body of fighting men. Rome had now fallen, though a remnant of Roman power still nominally existed in the district of Soissons,[1] in the upper part of the valley of the Seine. Clovis led his warriors against the city in 486, overthrew the Roman governor and seized his palace for his residence.

By this victory he practically made himself master of all Gaul north of the Loire except the peninsula of Brittany, whose chiefs later formed an alliance with him. Clovis afterwards established himself at Paris, which thus became the capital of the land of the western Franks, or Francia.[2]

17. Conversion and Baptism of Clovis. — Clovis found a powerful ally in the Catholic Church. Beset as the Church then was by barbarians on the one hand, and by Arians[3] on the other, she was anxious to find some great chief who would be her ally and champion. Clovis was a pagan, but in the eyes of the bishops of Gaul that was far better than being an Arian, like the Burgundians and the Visigoths, since experience had proved that it was easier to convert a hundred German heathen than a single Christian heretic. Priest and monk then both fervently prayed that the conqueror of northern Gaul might be won over to support the faith of Christ; but a gentler and more persuasive influence than theirs finally brought the Frankish warrior into the fold. He had married Clotilda, an orthodox Catholic princess, who earnestly besought him to be baptized, both for her sake and for his own.

He was already half gained over, when an accident occurred which completed the work. Clovis had engaged in battle near Strasburg with a band of Germans who were bent on conquering and settling the territory which he had gained; for

[1] Soissons (swȧs-sȯ̂n′): about sixty miles northeast of Paris.

[2] The western Franks gradually became Romanized in speech and in other ways. They gave France the name by which we now know it; also its first line of kings. (See page 47.)

[3] Arians, see Paragraph 14.

barbarian robbed barbarian in those days just as Frank robbed Gaul. The struggle was long and doubtful. At last Clovis, fearing that he would be defeated, cried out for help to the God of the Christians, solemnly vowing that if He would grant him the victory, he would believe and be baptized. The battle turned in his favor, and he drove the enemy back, deciding the fact that no more Germans were to be permitted to settle in Gaul.

Clotilda now urged the king to fulfill his vow. He assented, and on the following Christmas the Bishop of Reims[1] received him at the entrance of the cathedral of that city. As the barbarian chief walked slowly up the church, he looked round in awe on the white-robed priests, the painted hangings, and the lighted candles of the altar. "Is not this the kingdom of heaven which you promised me?" he asked. "No," replied the bishop, "but it leads to it. Bow thy head, O Sicambrian,[2] and hereafter adore the cross thou hast burned, and burn the idols thou hast adored." Clovis knelt before the font, received the rite of baptism, and the same day three thousand of his warriors followed his example. It was a significant event, since all German converts up to this time had adopted Arianism. Clovis and his comrades were the first German Catholics.

18. Clovis conquers the Burgundians and the Visigoths; Sole Chief over the Franks. — The new convert was full of zeal. He looked toward the southeast, and he saw that the Burgundians occupied the fertile Rhone valley; he looked toward the southwest, and he saw the kingdom of the Visigoths. Then he said, "It is a shame to let such heretics[3] own so much of the best land." The good bishops held the same opinion, and urged Clovis to enter upon new fields of conquest.

Religion and ambition, duty and pleasure, were now all on his side. He summoned his eager Franks and compelled the

[1] Reims (rănz): a city one hundred miles north-northeast of Paris.
[2] Sicambrian: a name by which the Gauls designated the Franks.
[3] See Paragraph 14.

Burgundians to pay him tribute. Eventually the Burgundian power was wholly broken, and these Arians became good Catholics. Then he attacked the Visigoths, and after a series of battles left them nothing north of the Pyrenees that they could call their own except a narrow strip of coast on the Mediterranean.[1]

The Pope of Rome[2] now conferred on Clovis the title of Most Christian King and Eldest Son of the Church. Possibly this action was a little hasty, for the victorious leader showed that he was determined to keep and perpetuate his power no matter what it might cost. To accomplish this, Clovis proceeded to perpetrate a series of crafty murders by which he got rid of all rivals and made sure of transmitting his sovereignty to his sons. He thus established the Merovingian monarchy, a name derived from Merovæus,[3] an ancestor of Clovis who had fought at the memorable battle of Châlons.[4]

Clovis, however, should not be regarded as king over a well-defined realm, but rather as sole chief of the Franks, who had spread themselves over most of Gaul except Burgundy and Brittany. His name marks an epoch, since he was the first of the barbarians to obtain such extended sway, and he first gave his protection to the Christian Church. In fighting as he did for the unity of religious authority and for the establishment of a fixed and hereditary government, he did his age great service.

19. Division of the Kingdom of Clovis; Struggle for Power; Brunhilda vs. Fredegonda. — The death of Clovis and the division of his power among his four sons, who held Metz, Orléans,[5] Paris, and Soissons as their respective capitals, brought

[1] Septimania: a region extending from the Rhone to the Pyrenees. See Map No. IV, page 29.

[2] The title of Pope was then held by bishops generally; it was not limited exclusively to the Bishop of Rome until much later.

[3] Merovæ'us: the softened form of the German Merowig.

[4] See Paragraph 15.

[5] Orléans (ŏr-lā-ŏN').

constant strife and bloodshed, since each was trying to get the sole mastery. The sign of freedom and of independent power among the Franks was their long flowing hair. Especially was this the badge of royalty. Originally only defeated warriors, slaves, and monks cut off their hair,— the former to show that they were captives or dependents, the latter to signify that they were servants of the Church and had withdrawn from the world. One of the sons of Clovis having been killed in battle, his kingdom fell to his three children, who were to be brought up by their grandmother, Clotilda. But two uncles coveted their possessions. They managed to get the lads into their power, and then sent a pair of shears and a dagger to Clotilda, asking which she preferred: to have the young princes clipped and sent to a monastery, or stabbed and buried. The proud-spirited woman sent back word that she would rather see them dead than shorn. Upon receiving this answer, one of the uncles, Clotaire, killed two of the boys; the third escaped. Clotaire thus got possession of the whole four kingdoms. But his four sons divided them after his death, and the strife began again. Eventually the eastern kingdom, which had Metz for its capital, came to be called Austrasia,[1] while those having Paris and Soissons as capitals united to form a western kingdom called Neustria,[2] which became the nucleus of modern France.

Austrasia and Neustria, urged on by their respective queens,[3] entered upon a long and desperate war with each other. The conflict was marked by the utmost cruelty, and the names of Brunhilda of Austrasia and Fredegonda of Neustria, both women, or rather tigresses, of surpassing beauty, still remain synonyms for ferocious depravity, though the first certainly was not without redeeming qualities.

[1] Austrasia: eastern. [2] Neustria: not eastern, *i.e.*, western.

[3] As the Franks did not permit women to reign, Brunhilda and Fredegonda, queen consorts, were not rulers in name, though they were such in fact.

As St. Gregory of Tours[1] was walking with the Bishop of Albi near the Neustrian palace, he asked, "Do you see anything above that roof?" "Yes," answered his companion; "I see the royal standard." "Nothing else?" "No," said the bishop; "do you?" "Truly," replied Gregory, "I see the sword of divine justice suspended over that wicked house." The vision was true. Austrasia subdued Neustria, and all of the queen's plans came to naught; but on the other hand, the Austrasian queen met with a horrible and shameful death at the hands of her rival's son.

Beneath this personal war there was the war of races; for while Neustria was largely Roman or Roman Celt, Austrasia, owing to its situation on the eastern frontier, was mainly German or Frank in its population. By its triumph Austrasia secured the predominance to the Franks, and their influence became supreme for more than two centuries.

20. Dagobert; the Sluggard Kings; Power of the Church. — In 628 Dagobert showed himself a worthy successor of his ancestor Clovis. In him the Merovingian kings reached their greatest power. He reigned not only over Austrasia and Neustria, and over nearly all the people of Gaul from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, but beyond the Rhine on the east to the forests of central Germany. At his death, ten years later, the decline set in. His successors rapidly degenerated until they became a puny, short-lived, sad-faced race. Their power slipped from their nerveless grasp, and a class of officials known as Mayors of the Palace, who had originally been stewards or managers of the royal household,[2] got possession of the government.

These long-haired, effeminate drones, or Sluggard Kings, as they were called,[3] did not inhabit the old Roman cities

[1] Tours (tōōr): in the province of Touraine.
[2] The Mayors of the Palace originated in Austrasia.
[3] Les Rois Fainéants: literally, the Do-Nothing Kings.

of Gaul, but moved slowly about in covered carts drawn by oxen, from one of their immense farms to another. They stayed at each, feasting and carousing until the provisions were exhausted, when they languidly mounted their ox carts and went on to the next. In name they were sovereigns, in reality they were puppets whom none respected; the real rulers were the mayors and the priests who coöperated with them.

After the battle of Testry in 687, between Pepin,[1] Mayor of Austrasia (grandson of the first of that name), and the Neustrians, a new order of things begins, and the vigorous Frankish rulers, represented by the victorious Pepin and his successors, prepare the way for the establishment of the great empire of Charlemagne, by securing the entire control to the Germanic element.[2]

We have spoken of the power of the priesthood.[3] It was fortunate for society that the Church had such influence in that barbarous age. For then the priest and the monk together established the outward order and the inward life of the world. They, indeed, often had far greater authority than chief or king. The cathedral and the monastery were centers of power for good. There the ignorant were taught, the helpless protected, the poor sheltered, the starving fed. The monasteries also served as the hotels of the day, and hospitality to travelers was a chief duty.[4]

The Church, too, knew no distinction of rank or class. A slave might become a priest, a priest a bishop, a bishop pope. Especially was this influence of the Church of value when there was no uniform law or supreme civil authority, and when invasions and civil wars were forever filling the world with violence, bloodshed, and desolation.

[1] Pepin (pĕp'in).

[2] See Paragraph 19.

[3] See Paragraphs 11, 17, and 18.

[4] See Emerton's Introduction to the Middle Ages, and his Mediæval History on this whole period.

21. Charles Martel; Battle of Tours. — Never was this power more needed than during the latter part of the Merovingian dynasty. In the eighth century the Saracens, or followers of Mohammed, had set out with the determination of conquering all nations. They had already subdued Egypt,

The Frankish Kingdom of the Merovingians

The heavy eastern boundary of Brittany indicates the virtual independence of that province at this period.

northern Africa, and Spain. They now planned the subjugation of France, Germany, Italy, and Constantinople, that they might unite them into one vast empire. As the Roman Empire had been ravaged by the northern barbarians, so now Europe was threatened by the Saracens. Many trembled lest every Bible should be destroyed, every church leveled, every cross

trampled under foot, and lest all men should be forced to bow in adoration before the Koran and the crescent.[1]

But the truth was that the Mohammedans gave those whom they conquered the choice of conversion, death, or tribute.

In 732 the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and raided the country in all directions, pillaging and burning many rich towns, and carrying off thousands of captives. No power seemed able to stop their career, and multitudes gave themselves up to despair, believing the end had come, and that Mohammedanism would triumph.

In this crisis a new Mayor of the Palace, Charles,[2] an illegitimate son of Pepin of Austrasia, came to the rescue. He represented the stalwart courage and steadfast endurance that had characterized the Franks in their best days. But he lacked warriors; and as his predecessors, together with the Sluggard Kings,[3] had given away a great part of the royal domain, Charles did not hesitate to seize the Church lands — which were usually the finest in the country — and distribute them as rewards to those who would fight for him.

At Tours[4] (732) the two armies met. The Saracens charged on the Franks with drawn scimiters, as though with one tremendous blow they would sweep them off the earth; but the latter, says the old chronicle, stood firm as a wall of iron, against which the scimiters were dashed to pieces. All one autumn day the attack was renewed again and again. But the desperate assaults were vain; they could neither break

1 The crescent: according to a legend, a Mohammedan ruler saw in a vision a new moon which kept increasing until its horns met and formed a perfect circle. He interpreted this to mean that the religion taught by Mohammed in the Koran would eventually encircle the globe. Henceforth the crescent became the emblem and standard of the Saracens, with the motto, "Until it shall fill the earth." On the Saracen conquests and policy, see Myers' excellent Mediæval and Modern History.

2 Or, in German, Karl.

3 See Paragraph 20.

4 Tours (tōōr): on the Loire. Some authorities represent the battle as taking place at Poitiers (pwá-tī-ā′), southwest of Tours, on a branch of the Loire.

down the wall nor cut it through. Meanwhile Charles beat down the enemy with his ponderous battle hammer with such fearful slaughter that to those who fought by his side he seemed endowed with the might of that old German war god who smote his foes with a similar weapon forged from a thunderbolt.

Charles gained the battle, and so fairly won that title of honor which ever after gave him the name of Charles Martel, or Charles the Sledge-Hammer.[1]

He had done Christendom a service never to be forgotten. As the power of the Huns had been broken at Châlons nearly three centuries before,[2] so the brave Frank had now crushed the Saracens, and saved Europe from that yoke of bondage which holds the Christian population of Turkey enslaved to-day. Thus it was the glory of France that the two great Asiatic invasions of the west were both overcome on her soil.

But the French clergy never could forgive Charles for his seizure of their property, no matter how pressing the need. The priests got their revenge for the robbery by declaring after his death that when his tomb came to be opened it was discovered to be blackened by fire, and that instead of finding the hero's body, they were startled by a hideous monster or demon which flew out. History, however, pronounces its judgment in favor of Charles, and declares that the clergy could well afford to give part of their possessions to save not only the rest, but their own existence as well.

22. Pepin and Rome; End of the Merovingians; Temporal Power of the Pope. — Twenty years after that decisive battle, Pepin the Short, a son of Charles Martel, who had succeeded him as Mayor of the Palace, determined to make himself supreme in title as well as in fact. To accomplish this successfully and peacefully he needed the aid of the Church;

[1] The martel, or rather marteau, was a heavy, two-handed war hammer, with a sharp point or edge.

[2] See Paragraph 15.

and as Rome was menaced by the Lombards[1] of North Italy, the Church was not sorry to get the stout arms and sharp spears of the Franks for her defense.

Pepin sent messengers to the pope, asking him who had the best right to be called king, — he who had the name only or he who had the power? The pope replied that the power and the name ought by right to go together. The next spring, 752, Archbishop Boniface, the English saint and missionary, anointed Pepin with the holy oil and placed the coveted crown on his head. Then Childéric, the last of the Sluggard Kings,[2] was shorn of his flowing locks, as a sign that his feeble reign and that of his imbecile family was over.[3] He was shortly after put into a monastery, where he had opportunity for meditation during the rest of his life.

Pepin's coronation and Childéric's deposition and seclusion were the first instances in history in which the pope had directly exercised that authority, afterward claimed, of making and unmaking kings. In this case certainly the influence of the Church was an unmistakable advantage. It was an alliance of right with might. With it the Merovingian line ends, and the Carolingian — a name derived from Pepin's famous son — begins.[4]

Not long after Pepin's accession, the pope, becoming alarmed at the inroads of the Lombards, crossed the Alps to implore the new king's aid. The Lombards had once been heretics like the Visigoths and Burgundians;[5] and although they now professed to be good orthodox Catholics, their

[1] The Lombards were, like the Franks, of German origin. They had invaded and settled the north of Italy, and were especially feared and hated by the Italians, since, not contented with conquest, they delighted in destruction. They were Arians, and the popes constantly styled them "the foul and horrid Lombards."

[2] See Paragraph 20.

[3] See Paragraph 19.

[4] Some historians derive the title Carolingian from Charles Martel, Pepin's father; but it is usually derived from his son and successor, Charles the Great.

[5] See Paragraph 14.

actions showed that they were brigands and barbarians. They had seized a number of cities, including Ravenna, and were threatening Rome. Pepin, summoning his warriors, began a campaign against them. He speedily drove the Lombards back, recaptured the walled cities they had taken, and collecting the keys of their gates, deposited them on the altar of St. Peter's.

By this gift he made the pope master not only of Rome, but of a goodly district beside, and thus established that temporal or territorial sovereignty of the papacy which was to serve as a material foundation for its spiritual power for more than a thousand years.[1]

23. Summary. — The battle of Châlons, and, later, the conquest of nearly all Gaul by the Franks under Clovis, were both important steps toward unity. The conversion of Clovis was of equal importance. It gave the Church, which was then the bulwark of civilization, the champion she needed. The degeneration of the Merovingian kings into a succession of royal Do-Nothings was followed by the rise of the Mayors of the Palace, who, under Charles Martel and Pepin, laid the foundation of a new and more vigorous dynasty. Martel's victory over the Saracens and Pepin's gift to the pope assured the Church a vast degree of power, which made itself felt for good throughout Europe.

1 The temporal power of the pope, in the sense of his sovereignty over the papal states, was abolished in 1870, when Victor Emmanuel succeeded in annexing this territory to his own, thus consolidating the whole of Italy into one kingdom.

SECTION IV

If we sum up Charlemagne's designs and achievements, we find a sound idea and a vain dream, a great success and a great failure.
GUIZOT.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE AND THE CAROLINGIAN LINE[1] (768–987)

24. Charlemagne's Accession and Designs. — At Pepin's death, in 768, his dominions were equally divided between his sons, Charles and Carloman.[2] The latter soon died, and his brother, destined to be known in history as Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, became sole ruler over the Franks and over all the peoples who acknowledged their power. Charlemagne, despite the French name by which he is best known to us, was thoroughly German in blood, temperament, and character.[3]

He was bold, pushing, sagacious, eager for dominion. He had a desire for unity, system, and order equal to that of Cæsar himself. In him we find harmonized the opposite qualities of the northern barbarian and of the civilized Roman. He had the vigor and the impetuosity of the one, with the organizing, legislative, and centralizing ability of the other.

Pepin, and those who preceded him, had been contented to be the commanders in chief of a people, but Charlemagne

[1] For a list of the Carolingian kings, see Genealogical Table in the Appendix.

[2] Charles: his German name was Karl, later Karl the Great. Charlemagne (shar'le-mān) is the French form from the Latin Carolus Magnus.

[3] Charles the Great was born, according to some accounts, at Aix-la-Chapelle (āks-lä-shä-pĕl') : according to others, at Salzburg or Ingelheim, Germany.

was ambitious to rule over a great realm; he thus sought to become not merely the head of a race or of a union of tribes which might be stationary or wandering, according to circumstances, but to be a true territorial sovereign, master of a certain well-defined territory and of all it contained. Here, then, was a step forward; the idea of the barbaric chief was departing; that of the king or ruler, with fixed geographical authority, fixed revenue, fixed military power and prerogative, was beginning.

25. His Wars with the Aquitanians, Lombards, and Saxons. — Charlemagne had inherited the government of a people scattered over a country much larger than that of modern France. But in the southwest the Aquitanians revolted, and his first efforts were spent in reducing them to obedience. This accomplished, he was obliged to turn his attention to the Lombards, who had again invaded the territory which his father had granted to the pope. With the Church, Charlemagne was in thorough sympathy. He felt that if they joined forces, all Europe might be conquered in the interest of intellectual and moral progress. When, therefore, the pope implored his help, he marched to his aid, crushed the Lombards, annexed their country to his own, thus gaining a large part of Italy, and then confirmed the papacy in the possession which Pepin had secured to it.[1]

Charlemagne next turned his attention to the north. There he hoped to gain fresh territory. Beyond the Rhine the Saxons still held the lands which Cæsar had vainly tried to conquer. Although a kindred people, yet between them and the Franks deep hatred existed. The Saxons considered the Franks as men who had deserted the honor and faith of their fathers. They taunted them with having abandoned the free, wild life of the forest for the effeminate customs of walled cities, and with having forsaken the savage war gods, Woden and

[1] See Paragraph 22.

Thor,[1] for the meek god of the Christians, who had been ignominiously crucified between two thieves.

The Franks, on the other hand, despised the Saxons as pagans, pirates, and savages. For more than thirty years war was going on between them. Terrible as Charlemagne was with his bodies of disciplined veteran troops, he found in the sturdy Saxons foemen worthy of his steel. The slaughter on both sides was immense, but at last the great Frankish leader compelled the northern tribes to sue for peace.

He succeeded in reaching the forest where the fortress of Ehresburg was situated. The Saxons regarded this spot as sacred, for here they had erected a column commemorating the defeat of the Roman legions by their great ancestral warrior Hermann. Before this column stood an altar of stone on which captives were sacrificed to the god of battles, while all around it were heaped up the spoils of war. Charlemagne stormed the fort, chopped the column to pieces, broke the altar, and burned the sacred oak trees. Then this fierce people, seeing their holiest place in the hands of their enemy, submitted to what seemed the decree of fate, and agreed to pay tribute.

26. War with the Moors; Roncesvalles. — Next, the victorious ruler prepared to advance on Spain. The Moors in the northern part of that country had revolted against the authority of the Mohammedan caliph of Cordova. They begged Charlemagne's assistance, promising to become his subjects. Charlemagne crossed the Pyrenees and took possession of a number of cities; but the Moors, becoming alarmed lest they had got for themselves a harder taskmaster than the caliph, now desired to drop the war and resume their former allegiance. Charlemagne then found himself without allies in a rough and hostile country, where food was scarce, and with a mountain chain between him and his supplies.

[1] Woden and Thor (Tor): these names of heathen gods are preserved in our English names Wednesday (Woden's day) and Thursday (Thor's day).

Under these circumstances he deemed it prudent to retire. He began his retreat by the old Roman road which leads from Spain to France,[1] through the narrow and gloomy pass of Roncesvalles ;[2] he passed through the gorge in safety ; but not so his rear guard under the command of Roland. There the wild tribes of the mountains, joined by the treacherous Moors, attacked them with such fury and in such overwhelming numbers that, encumbered as they were by baggage, they could make but slight resistance : not a man, it is said, escaped to tell the tale.

But the poets of that and following generations found in this tragedy a fit theme for their genius. The death struggle, which no one saw save those engaged in it, they beheld with the eye of the imagination, and the "Song of Roland" became one of the great romances of the Middle Ages. It was recited in the peasant's hut and the baron's castle. The warriors of the west of Europe knew it by heart ; and when the Normans, two centuries later, fought that battle of Hastings by which they won the crown of England,[3] they advanced to the conflict singing of

> the blast of that wild horn,
> On Fontarabian[4] echoes borne,
> The dying hero's call,
> That told imperial Charlemagne
> How Paynim[5] sons of swarthy Spain
> Had wrought his champion's fall.[6]

But the reverse did not check the arms of the great king, and he claimed the Spanish territory as far as the Ebro as part of his dominions.

[1] Astorga to Bordeaux (bôr-dō′).

[2] Roncesvalles (rōn-thes-väl′yes) : in the western Pyrenees. See Map No. IV, page 27.

[3] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

[4] Fontarabian : from Fontarabia, a fortified town of Spain, on the boundary between France and that country.

[5] Paynim : pagan.

[6] Sir Walter Scott's Poems.

27. Conquest and Conversion of the Saxons. — His campaigns, however, were not yet over. The Saxons, who had been after all but half conquered, broke out in revolt. They burned the churches which the missionaries had erected, killed the preachers of the Gospel, and compelled the Christians to flee the country. Charlemagne raised an enormous force and soon appeared on the scene of the rebellion. Such was the terror of his name that many of the rebels had already fled, and he found the country quiet. The king, however, was determined to make an example of those who had dared defy his authority. He called a meeting of the leading men and demanded the delivery of the insurgents. Four thousand five hundred prisoners were shortly after brought bound into the camp at Verden.[1] Charlemagne gave orders that the whole number should be executed. The work of death began; it lasted through the entire day, and when the sun set, their headless bodies lay on the banks of the Weser, whose stream ran red with blood.

This massacre, far from intimidating the survivors, stirred them to frenzy. Another revolt broke out. Charlemagne, raising a new army, ravaged the country with fire and sword. The barbarians saw that they must choose once for all between submission and extermination. Wittekind, the chief of the Saxons, came forward and gave himself up as a captive. So completely was he overcome that he consented to enter a monastery for the rest of his life.

Charlemagne next began a series of conversions, not by persuasion, but by force. He gave the Saxons their choice between baptism and death. Under this edict the Church increased rapidly in numbers. But even these measures were not wholly effectual, and eventually the king adopted a different policy. He carried off the inhabitants, men, women, and children, by thousands, and settled them in colonies in

[1] Verden: on the Weser, a little southeast of Bremen.

central and southern Europe, leaving in their stead strong military garrisons to hold the country.

Next, he offered every half-naked barbarian who would come forward and receive baptism a fine, new, white garment. The bribe worked wonders. Instead of flying from immersion as they formerly had, the Saxons begged for it. Once, it is said, the stock of new garments did not hold out, and some of coarser quality were hastily prepared. A gigantic chief, who received one of these, looked at it with scorn. "I have been baptized here twenty times before," said he, "and never once got such linen as that; and if I didn't need the clothes, I would have nothing more to do with such a mean-spirited religion."

28. Extent of Charlemagne's Dominions; the Northmen. — Thus, by the point of the sword in most cases, by exile and gifts in others, Charlemagne extended the boundaries of his kingdom until it comprised the greater part of western Europe, from the Atlantic to the main stream of the Danube, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic — embracing the countries now included in modern France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, part of Hungary, part of northern Spain, and more than two thirds of Italy. For the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire this immense territory acknowledged one ruler.

Charlemagne's dream of geographical unity, at least so far as the Germanic races were concerned, was in great measure accomplished. His example, too, inspired the British prince Egbert, who was heir to the throne of the West Saxons, but was then a refugee at Charlemagne's court, so that after he came into possession of the crown, he compelled all rival kings to submit to him, thus establishing the realm of England.[1]

In the spring of the year 800 Charlemagne set out for Rome. On his journey, which occupied the entire summer

[1] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

and autumn, he stopped for a time at a seaport on the Mediterranean. One day, as he stood by the window, his attendants noticed that his eyes were filled with tears. None of his great men dared to question him, but he addressed one of them: "Do you see those vessels in the distance?" asked the king. "I do, sire," was the reply. "Well, those are the Northmen; they have come to insult these shores. For myself, I do not fear them; but woe to those who come after me."

Charlemagne had reason for his foreboding. He had succeeded in putting a stop to the land invasions of the barbarians: his realm was practically at peace; but he was powerless to check those Scandinavian pirates who, with their swift-sailing barks, were ravaging England and threatening every coast in Europe. A century later we shall see all that Charlemagne dreaded come to pass.

29. Charlemagne crowned Emperor at Rome; his Plans. — Toward the end of November the king reached Rome. On Christmas day, followed by a numerous retinue, he entered the church of St. Peter[1] to partake of the solemn communion which celebrated the birth of the Saviour. He advanced toward the high altar and knelt in prayer; as he rose, the pope stepped forward and placed on his head a jeweled crown surmounted by a cross. Immediately a shout filled the building: "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus,[2] crowned by God, great and peace-giving emperor!"

Thus did Charlemagne receive the sanction of the Church to his scheme of resuscitating the imperial government of Christian Rome. Thus, after more than three centuries had elapsed,

[1] Not the present church, which was not wholly completed until the seventeenth century.

[2] Augustus: a title originally given to Octavianus Cæsar as supreme ruler. Later, it became the surname of all the Roman emperors. Its use here implied that Charlemagne had become the legitimate successor of the Cæsars, and head of the revived Roman (Christian) Empire.

the title of Emperor of the Romans was revived. With the pope's aid the newly crowned potentate was resolved to establish the Holy Roman Empire[1] on an enduring foundation. Henceforth throughout Europe he would have but one state, one people, one universal or Catholic faith.

To accomplish this gigantic undertaking Charlemagne employed the following means: (1) war; (2) national assemblies; (3) courts and royal commissioners; (4) the clergy; (5) education; (6) commerce. What he had achieved through war we have already seen in great measure. By it he had not only gained his territory and his title, but he had organized the semi-barbarous tribes and taught them to obey one will. His wars, in fact, were so constant that he may be said never really to have been at peace.

30. "Fields of May"; Laws; Imperial Commissioners; Education; Public Improvements; Influence Abroad. — The chief national assembly, or the Field of May,[2] was held in the spring. It consisted of the leading men of the Empire, though in case of war all freemen would probably attend. With them Charlemagne took counsel respecting the enactment of statutes, the general welfare of the country, and on questions relating to war and peace; but practically the emperor held absolute power. He stamped treaties with the pommel of his sword, and compelled their observance with the point.

One of his principal objects was to obtain uniformity of law throughout the realm. Previous to his reign each people had its own laws, which were sometimes written, and at other times were simply certain customs handed down from the earliest

1 See Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, pages 3 and 80.

2 The Field of May: so called because the assembly met in May, generally in a field or public square. The Field of May did not originate with Charlemagne, but grew out of an ancient German assembly of the Franks held in March, and hence called the Field of March. Once every freeman had a right to take part in these meetings; but under Charlemagne this was practically restricted to the chief men (nobles and higher clergy), except in emergencies. From 770 to 813 Charlemagne held thirty-five of these national assemblies.

period. On this account there was no proper unity. The Burgundians might have one law, the Visigoths another, the northern Franks a third. At the south an attempt was made by the clergy to enforce a modified form of the old written Roman law, while in the district of which Paris was the center, and beyond it, men were tried and judged according to the primitive German customs.

These old Frankish customs recognized only two capital offenses: one was desertion from the army, the other was cowardice in battle. The deserter was hanged; the coward was suffocated in a mud hole. Murder and all other crimes were punished by fine. If a man killed a noble or a bishop, it cost him heavily, perhaps ruined him; but if he killed a common man, he got off easily.[1] In case a criminal refused to appear for trial, or failed to pay the sum prescribed, he was declared an outlaw and hunted down like a wild beast. If he had not means to pay, and his friends would not pay for him, the injured person or his relatives took his body, and he became a slave.

As in those days there were few ways of discovering the facts in difficult cases, it was the custom to presume the prisoner guilty until he proved the contrary. He might do this, first, by swearing that he was innocent, and getting a number of reputable men to swear that they believed him. Secondly, if he could not bring such witnesses, he was obliged to undergo the ordeal, or "judgment of God." He appealed to Heaven to vindicate him, and then, in the presence of priests and other witnesses, carried a piece of red-hot iron a certain distance, or plunged his bare arm up to the elbow in boiling water.[2]

[1] The murderer of a swineherd incurred a fine of 30 sols (a sol being about $1.85, or, reckoned at the present value of money, about ten times as much, or $18.50); the murderer of an able-bodied slave incurred a fine of 150 sols; the murderer of a nobleman or priest incurred a fine of 600 sols. These rates varied at different periods and in different parts of the country.

[2] There were also various other ordeals, but all rested on the same general principle.

EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE GREAT
814.
Roman Empire
Roman Empire
and its dependen
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SHETLAND IS.
THE HEBRIDES
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Tees R.
Whitby
York
Humber R.
R. Rhine
London
Canterbury
AACHEN
(Aix-la-Chapelle)
Paderborn
New Corbey
Hamburg
Paris
Verdun
Frankfurt
Chalons
Tours
Lyons
Geneva
St. Gall
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
GASCONY
AQUITANIA
Arles
Saragossa
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Toledo
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Seville
CORDOVA
Granada
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Xeres
Cadiz
Strait of Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
MOROCCO
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ROME
Naples
Salerno
Amalfi
Palermo
SICILY
Syracuse
Carthage
Kairouan
MALTA
Tripoli
CALIPHATE
Sweden
Denmark
Saxons
Frisians
Bavaria
Bohemia
Italy
Spain
Britain
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Gaul

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Kief
Dnieper R.
Danube R.
Cherson
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Philippopolis
Hadrianopleo
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
Anzera
Nicæa
Dorylæum
PHRYGIA
Philadelphia
Iconium
Trapezus
(Trebisond)
Arazes R.
Edessa
Nineveh
Tigris
MESOPOTAMIA
Antioch
Aleppo
RHODES
CYPRUS
CRETE
Berytus
Sidon
Tyre
Ptolemais
(Acre)
Jaffa
Ascalon
Damascus
Tiberias
Nazareth
Jerusalem
Cæsarea
Gaza
Pelusium
Alexandria
BAGDAD
Ctesiphon
Cufa
Euphrates
Western Caliphate
Eastern Caliphate
Medina
Mecca

If, after several days had elapsed, he appeared to have escaped serious harm, he was acquitted; if not, he had to suffer the penalty of his crime.

Finally, in certain cases, the accused had the right to challenge his accusers to fight in mortal combat. If he came off victor, it was believed that God had interposed in his behalf. Such customs show how hard it was in that age to collect evidence in regard to crime. Underneath these rude attempts at justice was the idea that there is a power above ourselves that is on the side of righteousness.

Charlemagne's constant effort was to improve on these primitive methods. His edicts or laws[1] embrace every subject, political, civil, military, and ecclesiastical. Not infrequently they begin with a quotation from the Ten Commandments or from the laws of Moses.

These edicts extend to every relation of man to man or of man to property. They also relate to the government of the Empire and the supervision of the imperial estates. Some lay down rules for the guidance of generals of the army, others for the conduct and behavior of bishops; others give minute instructions respecting the emperor's farms, and even order what shall be done with a surplus of hens' eggs.

To insure the energetic, faithful, and uniform administration of these laws, Charlemagne appointed special officers, called "counts," who had the government of districts or cities. Next, he appointed special commissioners to travel through the Empire and oversee these counts.

The commissioners went out in pairs, — a count and a bishop, — and were called the "Emperor's Eyes," since it was their duty to spy out abuses and take measures for rectifying them. In accomplishing these and other reforms, Charlemagne made it a rule to secure the coöperation of

[1] Sixty-five of Charlemagne's edicts, or "capitularies," containing over a thousand articles, have come down to us.

the clergy. At the same time he took care to purge the Church of inefficient or unworthy men, fully realizing that there was often more likelihood that the Church would become barbarized than that the barbarians would become Christianized.

With respect to education, he set the standard by establishing the School of the Palace, under the leadership of Alcuin, a learned Anglo-Saxon monk. Alcuin collected and restored many valuable Latin manuscripts, and thus helped to lay the foundation for sound classical scholarship. He also wrote Scripture commentaries and a variety of other works, and encouraged discussion. These discussions were full of ingenious subtleties, rather than of profound investigation; but such as they were, they helped to keep thought alive[1] in an age which lived almost wholly through the senses. Although the emperor never made great progress, yet, by his example and efforts, he rekindled the pure and living flame of learning at a time when it seemed about to go out forever.

Finally, he encouraged and protected commerce, opened new roads, and placed guards along the rivers, coasts, and highways to prevent robbery. He also established great annual fairs, where merchants and people gathered from all parts of Europe to buy and sell. This intercourse did much to overcome the prejudices and hostilities of different sections and races, and thus helped to give unity to the Empire.

The fame of Charlemagne's achievements extended not only throughout Europe, but even to the court of the caliph of Bagdad. We have already seen its influence on England.[2] Centuries later that influence still lived; and when the great emperor had long been dust, Henry II found in his legislative

[1] The following may serve as examples: "What is it which renders bitter things sweet? Hunger." "What is that of which men never grow weary? Gain." "What is hope? The refreshment of labor." "What is faith? The assurance of unknown things."

[2] See Paragraph 28.

THE
WESTERN EMPIRE
As Divided at Verdun
843.
Lothar
Lewis
Charles
NORTHUMBERLAND
MERCIA
EAST ANGLIA
WESSEX
R. Eider
Hamburg
Bremen
SAXONY
Wends
WILZI
R. Elbe
R. Oder
Lechs
Köln
ANCIENT FRANCIA
SORABI
Czechs
CHROBATIA
Mainz
Trier
Rheims
Paris
Verdun
Regensburg
Strassburg
BRITTANY
NEUSTRIA
Le Mans
MIDDLE FRANCIA
WESTERN FRANCIA
R. Loire
Besançon
CARINTHIA
AUSTRIA
R. Danube
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
Geneva
Lyons
Aosta
Milano
Verona
Trevigi
Aquileia
Bordeaux
Vienne
GASCONY
Toulouse
Genoa
Ravenna
CROATIA
SERBIA
SPANISH MARCH
Narbonne
TUSCANY
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
CORSICA
ROME
BENEVENTUM
Barcelona
5
0
5
10
15
20
25
50
45

acts a model for those reforms of justice which have made his name so conspicuous in English history.[1]

31. Failure of Charlemagne's Plans; his Death; Results. — But however temporarily successful his work might be, Charlemagne had, nevertheless, undertaken an impossible task. There was in fact no real and permanent unity in the Empire. First, the people were not of the same race: part were Italians, part French,[2] part Germans. Next, there was no common language, but each race had its own. Lastly, each had, or wished to have, its own customs and laws. During Charlemagne's life his genius and power held these antagonistic societies and peoples together. Deceived by the peace he had compelled, he believed that all that he had accomplished would last.

When he died, in 814, he ordered that his corpse should be propped up in a royal chair of state and placed in the vault of the cathedral of his capital at Aix-la-Chapelle.[3] In his lap lay an open Bible, in his hand a scepter. Thus he sought to make his lifeless body a material image of his enduring power. But it was all in vain; the forces of disintegration, held in check for a time, speedily broke the realm to pieces.

Still, all was not lost. The effects of Charlemagne's policy of government continued to make themselves felt: (1) the establishment of his capital as far north as Aix-la-Chapelle not only put a stop to the land invasions of the Germans into Gaul, but made that city an important center of civilization; (2) his schools also survived in considerable measure, and continued to be a source of intellectual activity; (3) finally, though the colossal empire broke into three fragments, each of these became a nation.

[1] See Stubbs's Constitutional History of England, I, 494.
[2] French, *i.e.*, Romanized Celts of Gaul.
[3] Aix-la-Chapelle (āks-lä-shä-pĕl′): German, Aachen.

The Treaty of Verdun,[1] made between the three grandsons of Charlemagne in 843, was a turning point in history. It was the first important treaty between European states; it is connected with the oldest written monument of the French language;[2] it marks the beginning of the three great sovereignties of Italy, Germany, and France, into which the Empire was divided.

The map[3] shows France shorn of much of its former territory. It no longer extends to the Rhine on the north, or to the Rhone on the southeast; for all that long strip of country, reaching from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, the Treaty of Verdun annexed to Italy. That allotment has proved a source of constant war between Germany and France. Each has by turns tried to get possession of that border land; and though more than ten centuries have elapsed since the division was made, the contest between the two countries is not yet settled.[4]

After Charlemagne we meet no really great name in France for a number of centuries. His descendants, like the Sluggard Kings who preceded him, have no character. Their history is told in their names, or rather nicknames, — the "Meek," the "Bald," the "Fat," the "Stammerer," the "Simple," and

[1] Verdun: a town of France, on the Meuse, northeast of Paris. See Map No. I, page 1.

[2] After Charlemagne's death civil war broke out between his three grandsons, Charles, Louis, and Lothaire. The first two eventually formed an alliance and took a solemn oath in the spring of 842, which prepared the way for the Treaty of Verdun, which gave France to Charles (or Karl), Germany to Louis (or Ludwig), and Italy, with the strip of territory lying between Germany and France, to Lothaire (or Lothar). Louis' oath, addressed to the Romanized Franks, or Frenchmen, shows the Latin language in the act of transformation into French. French, in fact, had already made such progress that Charlemagne had been obliged to learn it, and the clergy of his reign had taken to preaching in it. See Brachet's Historical French Grammar, pages 12–15, where the oath is given entire.

[3] See Map No. VI, page 45.

[4] Out of the strip granted to Lothaire, which embraced Lorraine and Alsace, France obtained a considerable portion, and the rest eventually went to form Holland and parts of Germany, of Belgium, and of Switzerland.

the "Fool." Had France depended on them, she would never have risen. Other hands and other brains were to build up the kingdom that now had a name and a language of its own.

32. **Summary.** — Charlemagne aimed at unity, in an age when unity was practically impossible. But he succeeded in some of his great measures: he checked the most formidable of northern invasions and he strengthened and reformed the Church. Europe to-day rests in considerable degree on the three great divisions of his empire, — Germany, France, Italy. The greatness of his character and his wonderful executive ability are unquestioned. Napoleon at the height of his power used to style himself a "second Charlemagne."

Here let us recall the fact that the French people derive their temperament and blood mainly from the Celts of ancient Gaul.[1] Cæsar, by his conquest of that country, Romanized it so completely that the Celts adopted the speech of their vanquishers, which developed into French. They likewise adopted Roman laws and institutions in great measure.[2]

When the Franks got possession of Gaul they not only failed to Germanize it in any marked degree, but they themselves became Romanized and so gave it the name *France*. Civilized life seems to have affected these liberty-loving barbarians as it did the American Indians. It gradually sapped their vigor. Their vices and brutal passions did the rest. The Merovingian and Carolingian governments achieved some good work, but both ended in confusion and anarchy.[3]

We shall see that what eventually made the kingdom of France one of the great Powers of Europe was the rise of a line of native rulers — the Capetians — who were destined to hold the throne for more than eight hundred years.[4] Then the Revolution of 1789 emancipated the French people from the control of absolute sovereigns and of privileged classes.

[1] See Paragraphs 3–6.
[2] See Paragraphs 12–13.
[3] See Paragraphs 16 and 31.
[4] See Paragraph 40.

SECTION V

Feudalism saved France from the consequences of the breaking up of Charlemagne's empire; it brought order out of disorder; it bound man, by certain clearly defined duties, to his fellow-man. — RAMBAUD.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM — THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN (814–987)

33. Beginning of a New Period; Charlemagne's Idea of Freedom versus the Germanic Idea. — We have thus far traced the history of France through four periods, — Barbarism, Roman Imperialism, Barbarism or Semi-Barbarism again, followed by the Imperialism of Charlemagne. We are now about to enter a fifth period, wholly unlike all that preceded it, but one that was inevitable — that was in fact salutary, because it was the natural and necessary product of the age.

Charlemagne's empire broke to pieces at last because his ideas of political liberty were not in harmony with the times. Though he was a German, he did not have the German idea of liberty, but the old Roman conception. Cæsar considered a man free if he was a citizen of Rome or of some city under Roman protection; Charlemagne, applying this principle on a broader scale, considered him free if he was a legal subject of his empire.

But the Germans had an entirely different notion of freedom. With them it did not depend in any way on where a man lived or to what community he belonged, but simply and solely on what he was in himself. If he was able to defend himself and his possessions by the strength of his own right arm, then they

recognized him as both free and noble; if he could not, he speedily became a slave.

Again, Charlemagne, like Cæsar, made everything center in himself as supreme ruler; but the natural tendency among the Franks was not to have one ruler, but many, each tribe choosing its own.

34. Origin and Development of the Feudal System. — Thus, when the Franks first invaded Gaul, every marauding band was distinct from every other; often, indeed, it was hostile to every other. When a band gained a victory, whatever plunder was taken was divided by lot, the chief, of course, getting the largest share. Later, when instead of raiding the country they settled in it, they divided the land in the same way. As the chief had rewarded his favorite followers with gifts from his share of the plunder, so now he gave them land. At first no condition seems to have been attached to such gifts, which were for life only; but later, military service was required by way of rent. Eventually these grants with their obligations came to be regarded as hereditary, so that they regularly descended from father to son.[1]

The example set by the chiefs was followed by the leading men. As they accumulated more land than they could profitably use, they in turn made grants of it on similar conditions. In this way they made sure of military followers, just as the chief had made sure of their services. This service, too, was highly honorable and marked the difference between the freeman and the man who was not free.

But these two classes did not constitute the entire population. Besides the greater and lesser landholders, bound together by pledges of assistance in time of war, or by other conditions, there were the small holders who had received a few acres as their rightful and unconditional share after some battle, but

[1] It was in 877, under Charlemagne's successors, that this principle of hereditary feudal descent became definitively established.

who for some reason had not increased their estates. They, of course, were independent, and owed no service for their possessions; but they soon found out that such independence was as precarious as it was dangerous.

That was an age when to a great extent might made right. War and pillage were going on continually, and every man's home had literally to be his castle. If a stronger neighbor happened to covet the particular piece of land which the small independent farmer owned, there was nothing to prevent him from seizing it. The owner then had his choice of turning outlaw or serf.

If he chose the first, he went into the woods and became a robber like Robin Hood in "Ivanhoe"; if the last, he sank into a condition but one remove from that of a slave. The only safety for a man so situated was to surrender his possessions to some powerful chief or lord, and receive them again on the mutual condition that he, on the one hand, should perform some service for them, and that the lord, on the other, should protect him in the enjoyment of his property.[1]

There was still another class; namely, the serfs. These were in most cases the natives of the country. When they had been conquered their possessions had passed to the victors, and the original owners were forced to remain and cultivate the soil for their masters. This class had certain legal rights. They could not be bought and sold like slaves, who constituted the lowest class of all; but they were bound to the soil and went with it. When, therefore, a man acquired an estate, he got its serfs with it as much as he got the trees that grew on it.

[1] This practice was called "commendation," because the person asking protection commended himself to the other's care. The ordinary feudal grant was termed a "benefice"; that is, a benefit or advantage. A man commended himself to a superior by kneeling before him, placing his hands in his, and swearing to become "his man"; in other words, to serve him faithfully. The lord, on the other hand, reinvested him with his land and solemnly promised to protect him.

Here, then, was a mighty social pyramid. At the top stood the chief or king. Next came the great lords, who were practically almost as much kings as their chief, though of course the prestige of his name counted for something. Then came the small landholders; then the serfs. The absolute slaves need not be counted, since they had practically no legal rights.

This system was called "feudalism," from the word *feudum*, meaning landed property.[1] Its maxim was, "No land without a lord; no lord without land." It was, as we have seen, a contract of mutual obligation. It meant that if you will do something for me, I will do something for you — if you will fight my battles, I will fight yours. Every man from the serf up owed service to some one above him; every man from the king down owed protection to some one beneath him. Finally, this system extended to all men and all institutions; even the Church held its possessions on feudal conditions and had to fight or pray for every acre of ground it owned.

This system, which eventually became established throughout Europe, had already made some progress when Charlemagne came to the throne. He labored not to regulate it, but to supplant it, by endeavoring to establish one central supreme power; but though he succeeded for a time, yet he really accomplished nothing. After his death the local order and stability which he had built up gave feudalism new life and more complete organization, so that Charlemagne, instead of destroying it, may be said to be its real founder.[2]

35. Good Results of Feudalism; Order; Mutual Dependence; Elevation of Woman. — Feudalism was attended with terrible abuses and revolting tyranny. Yet with all its evils, it was far better than warring, restless, destructive barbarism on the one

[1] The late Latin word *feudum* is derived from an Old High German word meaning cattle. Later it was applied to the land on which the cattle grazed, and so gradually came to mean property in general.

[2] See on this point Gibbon and Guizot.

hand, or Roman despotism on the other. Without it Europe would surely have been torn to pieces by ferocious hordes of robbers.

Feudalism established a certain degree of order.[1] It gave to every man his due place and rank. If he was able, he rose to the top; if he was incapable, he sank to the bottom. It enabled society to hold a fixed territory and to improve it. It cultivated habits of fidelity on the part of the vassal or dependent toward his lord; it bound the lord by ties of honor to his vassal.

Finally, feudalism gave to woman a better position than she had ever had before. Generally she had been either a plaything or a drudge; but to the baron in his castle she became a true domestic companion. His very isolation necessarily brought this about. His castle was his only place of security. From it he sallied out on expeditions of war. To it he returned after victory. Every one else was his inferior; but his wife and children were his equals. Their interests and his were one. No matter, therefore, how low, how brutal he might be, he could not escape the gentle and refining influence of home; nor could he fail to see that it was the wife and mother who made that home.

36. Feudal France. — We have seen that the Treaty of Verdun made France a separate kingdom.[2] But it was not a kingdom in the modern sense of the word, but simply a group of feudal states governed by dukes and counts, one of whom held the royal title. Thus at the close of the ninth century France consisted of twenty-nine such divisions, answering, we may say, to our counties, while a century later there were no less than fifty-five.

The rulers of these provinces were literally monarchs of all they surveyed. Each one lived in a castle, which was but

[1] Feudalism was theoretically a fixed state, but in fact was often the reverse.
[2] See Paragraph 31.

another name for a fortress. He had hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of armed retainers who were bound to fight under his banner under all circumstances; even, in fact, if he resisted the commands of the king. On his vast estates he had multitudes of serfs laboring to support him and his fighting men.

On his domains no man could gainsay him. He declared war or peace. He administered justice, sending the culprit to the gallows or the dungeon, as he thought best. He levied taxes and coined money. He, in short, was absolute; and although theoretically bound to serve the king, yet as a matter of fact he rarely did unless the king made it for his interest to do so, or could raise a force that could compel him to obey.

37. Invasion of the Northmen. — Late in the ninth century an event occurred which was destined to have an important influence on all northern France. It will be remembered that Charlemagne had predicted[1] that the day would come when the Danes and Norwegians would ravage the country. Shortly after his death the long, light vessels of these sea robbers made their appearance at the mouths of the Loire and the Seine.

They were filled with the same dauntless rovers who had invaded Russia, Italy, Spain, and England; they had pushed out into the broad Atlantic, that Sea of Darkness as it was then called, and had discovered and settled Iceland, planted colonies on the bleak shores of Greenland and, five centuries before Columbus, had penetrated the forests of the New World.[2]

So great was the terror which these freebooters inspired, that in the lower river valleys the laborers did not dare to cultivate their corn or gather the grapes in their vineyards: everywhere near the coast there were burning villages and slaughtered peasants. Later, the Northmen grew still bolder, and advancing up the Seine, threatened Paris itself.

[1] See Paragraph 28.

[2] See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.

They were no longer content to plunder, but purposed seizing the land and holding it as their own. This, however, was no easy undertaking, for the barons, sallying out from their strongholds with their armed followers, repeatedly drove them back, sometimes with heavy loss.

38. Rollo attacks Paris. — In 885 Rollo, a gigantic Norse chief, whom it was said no horse could carry, resolved to conquer the country.[1] He sailed up the Seine to Paris with seven hundred vessels and thirty thousand warriors, and besieged it for a year and a half. But thanks to the city's strong walls and stout hearts, it did not surrender. Then Rollo fell back on Rouen,[2] a city on the lower Seine, which he had previously captured. Making that his chief center of operation, he proceeded to get possession of the country round about.

Meantime, on the death of Charles the Fat, the empire, temporarily restored, had again broken up, this time permanently, into the three kingdoms of Italy, France, and Germany (887). Count Eudes, the valiant defender of Paris, was chosen king by an independent party of lords. His real power, however, was confined to Paris and northern France. A few years later Eudes was succeeded by Charles the Simple, who had been previously chosen king by the party who clung to the degenerate Carolingian line.

Charles, finding that he was no match for the Northmen, prudently resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and by giving Rollo the territory he had occupied, he hoped to gain his allegiance. Alfred the Great, of England, had already set the example of making such a treaty, and had virtually given half his kingdom to the Danes or Northmen, on condition that they should leave him in undisturbed possession of the remainder.[3]

[1] In the reign of Charles the Fat, under whom the three kingdoms of France, Italy, and Germany, into which Charlemagne's empire had broken up, were once more united for a short time.

[2] Rouen (rōō-ŏN′).

[3] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

The negotiation with Rollo was carried on through the medium of the Church. The Archbishop of Rouen was empowered to offer him the king's daughter in marriage, and a territory of over ten thousand square miles in extent, having Rouen for its capital. The only condition imposed by Charles was that, in accordance with feudal custom, Rollo should duly acknowledge him as sovereign. To this the Northman made no objection, knowing that he possessed the power of keeping or breaking his oath of allegiance as might be most convenient.

He received the province from Charles in a great assembly (911–912). The grant was made in solemn feudal form on the monarch's part, and that ceremony over, Rollo was informed that nothing now remained to complete the transfer but the act of homage, by which he was to kneel and kiss the king's foot. "Never," answered the barbarian fiercely. "I will bow the knee to no one, much less will I kiss any man's foot.'

Finally, after much persuasion from the bishop, he agreed to perform his part by proxy, and accordingly ordered one of his warriors to do what was required. The man obeyed; but instead of kneeling, seized the king's foot, and lifted it so vigorously and so high that his majesty was thrown sprawling backward on the ground, amid shouts of laughter from many of the spectators, who fully appreciated this part of the ceremony.

The discomfited king recovered himself as best he could, without daring to expostulate. Though he had sacrificed his dignity he had gained peace, for it was now for the interest of the robber chief to make the most of his newly conferred domain, and defend it against such marauding bands of his own countrymen as might attempt to land on the coast or sail up the river.

The new settlers soon showed that though they came as barbarians, they had no intention of remaining such. They

accepted the Christian faith, rebuilt the burned churches and monasteries, and adopted the French tongue and the feudal system.

In time their province became the most civilized and the most prosperous portion of France. The name of Northmen, once a terror, was softened to Norman, and the district they held called Normandy. The pirate Rollo became the founder of a long line of chiefs, or rulers, who took the title of Dukes of Normandy, and one of whom, as we shall see, six generations later, not content with his French possessions, crossed the Channel and added England to them by conquest.

39. Summary. — Feudalism reconstructed society on the only basis then possible. It was a bridge from barbarism to monarchy. The invasion of the Northmen, though seemingly a calamity, was really a benefit. They brought fresh, vigorous life. Their courage and their energy gave the country a new and needed impulse in progress and in civilization.

SECTION VI

When the last day of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh were past, it was like a general regeneration . . . and the work was begun of rendering the Christian world worthy of the future. — GUIZOT.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND (987–1066) — THE BEGINNING OF THE TRUE FRENCH MONARCHY — THE END OF THE WORLD — WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

HUGH CAPET, 987–996. HENRY I, 1031–1060.
ROBERT THE PIOUS, 996–1031. PHILIP I, 1060–1108.

40. Hugh Capet begins the Line of French Kings. — Peace had been made with the Northmen, but now another serious question came up. Should the feeble descendants of Charlemagne be allowed to continue to rule by virtue of their descent, or should the feudal lords of France choose one of their own number as sovereign?

This contest for supremacy was well represented by the feeling that then prevailed between the rival cities of Laon[1] and Paris. Laon, in the northeast of France, was the capital of the Carolingian kings, and was much more German than French. Charles the Simple and his successors made this city their principal residence. They refused to speak any language but German, and would not identify themselves with the French further than necessity compelled. In case of any difficulty with

[1] Laon (lä-ôN').

the feudal lords they would cross the boundary, which was not far off, and seek the protection of the German emperor.

After nearly a century of strife between the barons, or lords, and the Carolingian family the former triumphed, and in 987 they chose Hugh Capet,[1] Count of Paris, king. Though Hugh was of Saxon descent, he was thoroughly French in his ideas and sympathies. In him, therefore, it may be truly said that "France has at last a French king." Furthermore, his election by the great nobles of the north made him more nearly a national sovereign than any of his predecessors, who had in most cases inherited the crown.

His accession is an important epoch: on the one hand, it marks the end of the Frankish rulers, — both Merovingian and Carolingian, — whose power was founded on conquest; on the other, the beginning of the proper history of France. From Hugh Capet descended every sovereign — the Napoleons only excepted — that has since ruled the country. It has been truly said that "the Capetians created France."

41. The New King has Little Real Power. — But we must not be misled by a title. To be king in that age meant nothing more than to be the nominal head of a few great lords who considered themselves practically the equals of royalty. A glance at the map[2] will show that the royal domain was then a small territory having Paris as its capital. The whole of it was less than a twentieth of the France of to-day.

It is true that the important dukedom of Burgundy on the east and of Normandy on the west, with some lesser feudal districts, acknowledged their allegiance to Hugh.[3] But that

[1] Capet (kā′pĕt or kă-pā′): properly a nickname, meaning either the Cowled (from the abbot's cowl which Hugh wore as lay abbot of the three chief abbeys of France), or the Big-headed, the Stubborn. Surnames had not then come into use, and nearly every one was designated by what we should now call a nickname.

[2] See Map No. X, page 122.

[3] Hugh's brother was Duke of Burgundy, and his brother-in-law was Duke of Normandy.

acknowledgment seldom meant much. The king had no national army and no national revenue. He, like the other feudal lords, was dependent on his retainers. Outside the dukedom of France where he reigned he could not raise a soldier or a dollar save as the neighboring barons chose to help him. In fact, of the two, the Duke of Normandy might be held to be the more powerful, for by his control of the lower Seine he might, in case of a quarrel with the king, cut off a large part of the supplies of Paris.

South of the Loire, on the other hand, the barons hardly deigned to recognize the existence of the new king, much less to obey him, so that his actual power was small.[1] Yet out of that slender beginning the modern kingdom of France was eventually to arise.

An incident which occurred a few years after the king's coronation illustrates the turbulent spirit of the times. The monarch had occasion to require the assistance of the Count of Périgord,[2] one of his vassals. The count, however, flatly refused to render it. In his rage Hugh cried out to the refractory noble, "Who made you count?" to which the latter, not at all abashed, retorted, "Who made you king?" In truth, Hugh's short reign was a constant struggle for supremacy.

A Carolingian claimant to the crown had intrenched himself in Laon, and formed alliances with the cities of Soissons and Reims. In most cases the only way in which Hugh could secure the efficient aid of his barons was by granting them some gift of land which he could ill spare. In 996 he died and left the crown, without opposition, to his son, Robert the Pious. Thus the French feudal monarchy was established on that hereditary basis on which it was to rest until the great

1 By reference to map No. X, on page 122, it will be seen that the whole country then consisted of nine chief dukedoms and counties, of which three (Aquitaine, or Guienne, Toulouse, and Gascony), in all about half of the whole territory, were south of the Loire.

2 Périgord (pā-re-gor').

Revolution of the eighteenth century swept away its foundations forever.

42. Unrest of the Mediæval Period; the End of the World.[1] — One of the marked features of mediæval French history was the feeling of insecurity which generally prevailed. It was a time of anarchy, violence, and brute force. It was especially a hard time for the poor. The great curse of European feudalism was the almost constant strife which baron waged with baron. This kept a large part of society in a state of turmoil bordering on civil war; for every feudal lord spent much of his time in one of two things: he was fighting to get possession of some other lord's estate, or he was fighting to hold possession of his own.

Added to this prolific source of unrest and anxiety there was the suffering springing from the frequent recurrence of famine and pestilence, — the result of ravaged fields, interrupted labor, and unsanitary conditions of life.

Such a state of things bred an apprehension of impending calamity and ruin. This feeling naturally gave stronger emphasis to the common belief that the end of the world was at hand, — a belief which was not confined to any particular period, but which had been preached and prophesied for many generations. Such a conviction might indeed be a source of joyful hope to a few, but it inspired the great majority with dread and sometimes with terror. So deeply was this feeling rooted in the thought of that age, that for several centuries charters of gifts of real estate commonly began with the phrase, "In view of the approaching end of the world."

The Church directly or indirectly encouraged this belief. Thus we find that the Council of Trosly, held in the year 999, reminded the bishops that "we shall soon behold the majestic and terrible day when every shepherd, with his flock, shall appear before the Supreme Shepherd."

[1] Rewritten in great part; see references on pages 61, 62.

In accordance with certain interpretations of Scripture,[1] many appear to have supposed that the year 1000 would usher in the second coming of Christ and the final judgment, — a feeling vividly expressed in the hymn of the "Dies Iræ," written at a later date.[2]

> Day of wrath, that day of burning,
> All shall melt, to ashes turning.
> . . . . . .
> When the Judge shall come in splendor,
> Strict to mark and just to render.

According to the older historians, that dread of the impending destruction of all things deepened the ascetic life. Moved by that impulse, often the rich and the powerful made large gifts to the Church or went on pilgrimages to distant shrines or entered monasteries to make atonement for their sins.

These historians tell us that as the fated time approached men not only ceased to erect buildings, but allowed those which stood to fall into ruin. Not only did buying and selling cease in great measure, but in some sections the farmers hardly tilled the earth.

Finally, we are told that as the year 999 drew to a close, multitudes gathered in the churches and the churchyards in order to spend their last hours on earth in holy places. There, amid prayer and supplication, fasting and scourging, they waited in terror for the breaking of that awful dawn when the archangel's trumpet should summon both the quick and the dead to answer for the deeds done in the body.[3]

[1] Based on Revelation xx. 7.

[2] This celebrated hymn, though written two centuries later, may nevertheless be considered as reflecting the feeling which prevailed not only at the close of the tenth century, but throughout the Middle Ages, especially during the first five hundred and fifty years following the fall of Rome.

[3] See Duruy's History of the World (Grosvenor), page 224; Duruy's Middle Ages (E. H. and M. D. Whitney), page 224; Martin's Histoire de France Populaire, I, 140; Michelet's France (Kelly), I, Bk. 4; Michaud's Histoire des Croisades, I, 46.

But the recent researches of a number of historical students have greatly modified this gloomy picture. They deny that evidence can be found of any general panic on the eve of the millennial year, or even that the apprehension of the coming end of the world had at that time any widespread effect.[1] Perhaps the truth in regard to this matter has been stated most satisfactorily by Professor Emerton of Harvard in his recent work on mediæval Europe. He believes that the approach of the year 1000, falling in, as it did, with ideas already deeply rooted, "produced certain effects much more striking than the mere turn of the century would have brought."[2] But none the less he fails to find that France experienced that agony of fear which so many historians have depicted.

43. The New Life; Architecture; Intellectual Activity; the Troubadours; Progress of the Masses. — Yet the world had indeed come to an end, — not the material world, but the old barbaric order of things. That had finished its course, and a higher age was beginning. There would still be violence, bloodshed, suffering, and death; but there would also be what there had not been before, — faith, hope, and progress. From that period a different spirit seemed gradually to animate society, lifting, lightening, changing it as the housewife's leaven changes the mass of inert dough into wholesome bread.

Especially was this spirit seen in architecture. Before this, men had not dared build for permanence except where security made permanence a necessity. Now began to arise those magnificent cathedrals and noble abbeys which cover France with their imperishable forms of grandeur and beauty. First came the rounded Norman arch with the square massive tower;

[1] See Professor George L. Burr, "The Year 1000," in the *American Historical Review*, April, 1901; Professor George B. Adams, in a note in the *New Englander*, May, 1888, p. 369; and in general, Roy's L'An Mille, a work that goes over the whole ground.

[2] See Emerton's Mediæval Europe, page 567, and compare page 150.

then, step by step, the pointed Gothic arch, with tapering spire, the embodiment of aspiration and devotion in sculptured stone. This movement was not confined to France. "It seemed," says an old writer, "as if the whole world had shaken off its ancient rags, in order to clothe the earth with a white robe of churches."

This revival of activity showed itself in many ways. In the course of the next two centuries more than eleven hundred monasteries were built. These institutions fostered a new intellectual life. A certain proportion of the monks devoted themselves to study and to the writing of books. Learning and literature owe no small debt to the work done in the cloisters.[1]

At this time appeared the troubadours.[2] They originated in the south of France. Many of them were of noble birth. They may be said to have created French lyric poetry. These minstrels went from castle to castle singing of love and war. Every feudal court welcomed them, and everywhere they made life put on brighter colors than it wore before. So, too, we find that the new spirit reached even the peasants. They rose from their half-torpid condition and demanded privileges and rights hitherto unasked.

Thus all things bore witness that the world was inspired with renewed hope and renewed energy. This marvelous change was not simply the reaction from the old fear that all things were drifting to speedy destruction. On the contrary, to a large degree it sprang from causes which had long been silently at work. It would often be as difficult to trace those causes as it is to detect the subtle influence of the springtime which, when all is ready, suddenly bursts forth into newness of life.

44. Institution of Chivalry. — This new spirit manifested itself also in the change which now began in the conduct of military affairs. Up to this period wars had been utterly brutal

[1] See Roy's L'An Mille, Chaps. IX–XI.
[2] See Justin H. Smith's "The Troubadours."

and savage. It was not an uncommon thing for a victorious baron when he stormed a castle, to cut off the hands or tear out the eyes of such of the unfortunate prisoners who fell into his hands as had particularly exasperated him by their resistance or whose future resentment he had especial reason to dread.

But now the sentiment of honor and of religion gave birth to that institution of chivalry which reached its highest development about a century later. Chivalry may be defined as the consecration of arms to a noble, though partial, ideal of life. The knight made himself the champion of the Church and of all women of gentle birth. His motto was, "Nobility of rank demands nobility of character." He bound himself to redress wrong, to hold fast to the truth, to meet danger fearlessly, to show mercy to the vanquished, to treat all of his own class with magnanimity and courtesy.

Thus knighthood or chivalry, whatever its imperfections, became, as Guizot says, "the most splendid fact of the Middle Ages." So that we may say that the highest type of the Christian gentleman to-day is simply chivalry in its full and perfect development, no longer restricted to class or rank.

To reach this honor of knighthood a long course of training was required. The youth who aspired to it must be of good family. When a boy, he entered the service of some baron or warrior of renown, following him on his expeditions and bearing his shield or spear. He diligently practiced all athletic and manly exercises, learning to ride, to use the weapons of his calling, and to inure himself to exposure and fatigue. In the society of the ladies of the castle he learned to be polite, deferential, courteous, and helpful.

When he reached manhood he prepared himself for receiving knighthood. Clad in robes whose colors symbolized purity and devotion, he spent an allotted time in fasting and prayer; next, after confession and absolution, and having partaken of the sacrament, his sword was blessed, and he was instructed by the

priest in the duties of a true knight. Then having put on his armor and taken the vow of chivalry,[1] he knelt in the presence of his friends before some prince or warrior of renown, who, striking him lightly on the shoulder with the flat of his sword, said, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George,[2] I make thee knight; be valiant, bold, and loyal."[3]

This, like every other ideal, was but partially attained; but it was at least an effort to rise above the ruffianism, cruelty, and violence of the age. As Duruy declares: "It gave the man of that age a new example to follow; if in the religious life he looked up to his patron saint, in civil and political life he now looked up to the knight. Both aided him at a time when he needed aid most."

We may say, therefore, that whatever were the failures and defects of chivalry, however much it ultimately degenerated, yet the world was made better by its existence.

45. The Terrible Famines of the Eleventh Century. — But though this upward movement had begun, terrible calamities were still in store. We must remember that agriculture was then but very imperfectly understood, that roads hardly existed, that all means of transportation were both difficult and dangerous. To-day a great famine, save under very exceptional circumstances, is almost impossible in any civilized quarter of the world, since if the crops fail in one section, food can be readily and rapidly brought by steam from another; but eight centuries ago, if blight and drought destroyed the grain over any large extent of territory, no relief could be had, and famine was inevitable.

[1] This included purity, valor, compassion, the defense of the Church, and loyalty to the king.

[2] St. Michael: prince of the celestial armies and vanquisher of evil; St. George: a Christian hero of the fourth century.

[3] A knight who failed to keep his vows was degraded: his arms were taken from him, and he was publicly expelled from the order as one henceforth "dead to honor." After its decline chivalry fell into many extravagances, and became both silly and corrupt; but for centuries it did good work.

This happened in France between 1027 and 1033. So terrible was the dearth that multitudes perished. Men ate grass, roots, chalk, clay, — anything, in fact, to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Later, when the distress increased, they fell upon each other. To add to the horror of the time, the heaps of unburied dead bred pestilence, and wild beasts, coming out of the forests, attacked the defenseless inhabitants of the towns. War ceased, and men solemnly bound themselves to peace.

46. The Truce of God. — After the famine was over, the private warfare of baron with baron, which was at once the chief occupation and the curse of the period, again broke out. But now the Church interfered, and, though it could not put an entire stop to the practice, yet it checked it in some measure by the establishment of the Truce of God, which forbade fighting from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of every week, and also during such solemn seasons as Lent and Advent.

So earnest were the clergy in this good work, that though by what was called the Right of Sanctuary they protected the oppressed, the weak, and even the criminal who fled from violence or punishment and took refuge within the consecrated walls of the church, yet they refused this privilege to those who intentionally broke the Truce of God. The ordinance, it is true, was not — in fact could not be — uniformly enforced, but it was a step in the right direction; it secured a measure of quiet and safety to the afflicted country, especially to the poor, and thus it fostered agriculture and the arts of peace at a time when they were most sorely needed.

47. William, Duke of Normandy, conquers England. — But though the Truce of God served to check in some degree those private feuds and quarrels of baron with baron, which were of the nature of civil war, yet it in nowise prevented ambitious men from seeking glory and profit by foreign conquest.

In 1066 William, Duke of Normandy, a descendant of Rollo the Northman, finding his province too small to satisfy him, resolved to cross the Channel and attack England. Though he had no legal claim whatever to the crown of that country, he easily found a pretext for one. The English king, Edward the Confessor, was second cousin to William, and before he came to the crown had spent many years at the duke's palace in Normandy.

By education as well as by birth on his mother's side, Edward was Norman, and all his tastes and sympathies were Norman also. He surrounded himself with Norman favorites in both Church and State, and during a visit of William at his court, it was said that he promised the duke that he should succeed him. On his death, however, his brother-in-law, Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, a thorough Englishman in all respects, was chosen king by the national council.

Some years before that event Harold was wrecked on the French coast, and fell into William's power. The wily duke is said to have taken advantage of the situation by getting Harold, by stratagem, to swear on a chest of holy relics, either that he would marry his daughter, and make her queen of England in case he obtained the crown, or else that he would relinquish the throne to the duke. When, at Edward the Confessor's death, Harold was chosen king, he refused to carry out his agreement, — whatever it may have been, — and William resolved to invade his kingdom and take it from him.

The pope, who was desirous of enforcing his authority more completely in England, and also of obtaining a larger revenue from that country, favored the expedition, and sent William a consecrated banner to be borne in it.

On September 27, 1066, the duke, with his archers and cavalry, crossed the Channel and landed under the walls of Pevensey, not far from Hastings.[1] As he stepped ashore, his

[1] See Map No. VII, page 79.

foot slipped, and he fell on his face. "A bad sign! a bad sign!" said the terrified warriors, as they hastened to help him up. But William, who cared little for omens, whether good or bad, grasped both hands full of English earth, crying out, "Thus do I seize the land!"

On the 14th of October a great battle was fought at Senlac,[1] a place between Pevensey and Hastings. Harold was defeated and left dead on the field, and the English army was cut to pieces. William then marched to London, which, unable to make any adequate resistance, opened its gates to him, and on the following Christmas day he was crowned king of England in Westminster Abbey.

48. Results of the Conquest in England. — The effect of this conquest was advantageous rather than disastrous to England. William proved himself an able though stern ruler. He dispossessed thousands of Englishmen of their estates, and gave them to his Norman followers. He likewise put foreigners in all the high offices of the Church; yet he thereby introduced a higher civilization and better government. Feudalism had already become established in considerable degree in England, and it threatened to produce there the same results that it had in France; that is, to divide the country among a number of powerful and rapacious nobles, always at war with one another.

William had not only seen these evils in his own land, but had in fact helped to increase them not a little by his own refractory conduct toward the French king. He was determined that in England the central and royal power should not be at the mercy of the barons; he accordingly took a census of the country,[2] and then, calling a great meeting of the chief landholders and their vassals (1086), he compelled them all,

[1] After the contest the place was named Battle. Here William built Battle Abbey to commemorate the victory.

[2] Domesday Book: see The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

from the highest to the lowest, to swear allegiance to him, and to him only, as supreme ruler.[1]

Further than this, William made but few changes. He left the great body of English laws, customs, and institutions as he found them. The English language, though modified to some extent by the introduction of French words, still remained the tongue of the chief part of the population, and eventually it became the language of legislation, literature, and society. In France the great barons stood apart from each other; but in England, surrounded as they were by a hostile people, they were obliged to act and consult together. In the end this habit helped powerfully toward establishing a national council or parliament, — an institution that France lacked, chiefly from the want of unity among its great men.

For a number of generations the Norman kings and nobles continued to cling to their possessions on the continent and to regard Normandy as their real home; but constant quarrels and wars with the French sovereign, growing out of their feudal relations to him followed by the loss of their French territory, finally alienated them. Little by little, victors and vanquished united. Originally branches of the same northern race, there was nothing fundamental to separate them, and their situation practically made their interests one.

Normans and English ultimately joined forces to subjugate France on the one hand, and to secure the welfare and constitutional progress of England on the other. Thus, in the end English influence triumphed over the French in Britain, and the conquerors were themselves conquered.

49. Results of the English Conquest in France. — The effect on France was for a long time disastrous. The unwillingness of William and his successors, now sovereigns in their own

[1] It will be remembered that the weak point in French feudalism was that the followers of the great barons swore allegiance to them in all cases; so that if the barons revolted against the crown, their followers fought with them and for them.

right, to continue to do homage to the king of France, who was jealous of their power, kept Normandy in a state of almost chronic insurrection. But in the course of time this very struggle developed the power of the French ruler, and thus enabled him to maintain a greater degree of order and peace throughout his dominions. Finally, the removal of the Norman power from Normandy to England lightened the pressure on the people and led to the attempts of Le Mans and other towns to free themselves from feudal exactions. At first their efforts were unavailing, but at last, as we shall see later on, they succeeded in gaining the liberty they sought.

50. Summary. — The most important characteristics of this period are the beginning of the true French monarchy under Hugh Capet, followed by the conviction that the world would soon come to an end, and then by the commencement of a new period of life. This was illustrated in architecture, in intellectual activity, in the rise of the troubadours, and in the demand of the masses for recognition of their rights. It was seen, too, in the Truce of God, and in the institution of chivalry. William the Norman's conquest of England brought France into close relation with that country, and had a powerful influence on the future career of both kingdoms.

SECTION VII

The Crusades had their origin in France . . . they were the first European event. — GUIZOT.

THE CRUSADES — RISE OF THE FREE CITIES — WAR WITH ENGLAND, CONQUEST OF NORMANDY — THE ALBIGENSES — BATTLE OF BOUVINES — ST. LOUIS AND THE LAST CRUSADE. 1095–1270

PHILIP I, 1060–1108.
LOUIS VI, 1108–1137.
LOUIS VII, 1137–1180.
PHILIP II (AUGUSTUS), 1180–1223.
LOUIS VIII, 1223–1226.
LOUIS IX (ST. LOUIS), 1226–1270.

51. Events leading to the Crusades; Pilgrimages to Jerusalem. — The conquest which William, Duke of Normandy, had effected in the West in 1066, was followed a little less than thirty years later by an undertaking of equal magnitude in the East. This also originated in France. At first it was an attempt to recover the holy places of Palestine from the Mohammedans; afterwards to establish French principalities in Syria. The enterprise grew out of the pilgrimages made to the sepulcher of Christ in Jerusalem.

In a rude age such pious journeys served an important purpose. At a time when few could read, they familiarized multitudes with the places closely connected with sacred history, and thus helped to keep alive that spirit of religion and reverence which barbarism and violence threatened to utterly destroy.

The widespread belief in the coming end of the world naturally stimulated these pilgrimages to the East. Many

rough men, like the father of William the Conqueror, sought to appease their consciences and expiate lives of crime and bloodshed by making the journey to Jerusalem, as Henry IV of England purposed doing, centuries later, that they might see

> those holy fields
> Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
> Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd
> For our advantage on the bitter cross.[1]

Some of those who went believed that it was their last earthly undertaking. They took with them their ascension robes, in the firm faith that at the Judgment Day they would be caught up from their prayers at the grave of the dead Christ, to meet the triumphant Saviour as he descended in glory from the heavens.

Such a pilgrimage was then a serious undertaking. Aside from its expense and hardship, it often involved no small peril; for banditti lay in wait to rob those who went by land, and pirates, those who went by sea. Furthermore, if the pilgrims reached their destination in safety, they were not sure that their troubles were over. The Arab rulers who held possession of Jerusalem varied in their policy. Sometimes they welcomed the pilgrims for the sake of gain; at other times they harassed them by vexatious restrictions and exorbitant exactions. In such cases every step in the Holy City had to be paid for, and every pilgrim, no matter what his rank, had to wear a conspicuous leather girdle as a badge of subjection and humiliation.

52. Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit preach the Crusades.[2] — In 1076 the Turks, then a much more barbarous people than the Arabs, got control of Palestine. Their cruel treatment of the Christians brought matters to a crisis. According to

[1] Shakespeare's King Henry IV, Pt. I, Act I, Sc. 1.

[2] This section has been rewritten in part, in order to incorporate the results of recent historical research.

PREACHING THE CRUSADES

tradition, Peter the Hermit, an old French soldier who had turned monk and afterwards hermit, determined to rouse Christendom to put down these abuses. Barefoot, and clad in sackcloth, he set out to go through Europe and to appeal to all who revered the memory of Christ to come to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher.

But recent research seems to show conclusively that it was Pope Urban II who roused Peter the Hermit to undertake the work. Urban first spoke with authority, and called Europe to enter upon the crusades. He began in Italy. Later, in an impassioned address to a great multitude gathered at Clermont, in central France (1095), he exhorted the knights to take up arms for the deliverance of Jerusalem. His eloquent words touched the hearts of his hearers as a flame touches powder. The excited crowd of Frenchmen responded with a shout, "God wills it! God wills it!"

From that day thousands swore to become soldiers of Christ, and fastened on their breasts the red cloth cross which gave them the name of crusaders.[1]

Meanwhile Peter the Hermit went to northern France and there roused the peasantry to the wildest enthusiasm. They resolved to set off for the Holy Land that they might gain themselves imperishable glory, not only in this world, but in the world to come. The following spring (1096) the First Crusade set out from France, led by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless. A multitude followed from other countries. These rabbles were made up of men, women, and children, most of whom were on foot. Few had either arms, provisions, or money. Contrary to the earnest remonstrance of the pope, they started on a march of over two thousand miles, ignorant of the distance, of the route, and of the dangers which confronted them.

[1] Crusader and crusade: from the Old French *crois* (derived from the Latin *crux, crucis*), a cross.

They went through Germany, slaughtering whatever Jews they found, and pillaging villages of provisions, clothing, and weapons. Each new town that they saw in the distance they believed to be their destination, and eagerly asked, "Is not that Jerusalem?" In Hungary they committed such excesses that the exasperated inhabitants finally rose against them as they would against a pack of ravenous wolves.

After incredible hardships, those who had not perished on the way succeeded in reaching Asia, where all but a remnant were slain in their first battle with the Turks, and left their bones bleaching on the plains of Nicea, near Constantinople, to mark the road for the guidance of future expeditions.

53. **Godfrey of Bouillon's Crusade.** — Later in the same year the first properly organized and equipped crusading army started from France. Not only were all of the leaders French, but by far the greater part of the rank and file were also. Godfrey of Bouillon[1] was the most prominent, though Count Raymond of Toulouse, and the brother of the king of France, with the eldest son of William the Conqueror, joined in the crusade, and also several Norman nobles from Italy. The movement in the outset was a popular one; no crowned head took part in it, but eventually all Europe seemed to mass itself to overwhelm the Saracens.[2]

In 1097 the army reached Constantinople. The ruler of that city demanded of the chiefs that they should acknowledge him as their feudal superior, to which Raymond of Toulouse replied that they had not made this long journey in search of a master. The truth is that some of the great barons appear to have had ambitious hopes of conquest, and looked to the crusades for the establishment of earthly rather than of heavenly kingdoms. Godfrey, however, was not one of these; he made the concessions required by the emperor, and received his help toward crossing over with his troops into Asia.

[1] Bouillon (bo͞o-yôN′); Bouillon in Belgium. [2] Saracens: Arabs or Mohammedans.

54. Siege of Antioch; Jerusalem taken. — The siege and capture of Antioch was the first great victory of the crusaders; but it was purchased at terrible cost. Famine set in, and a number of men, including even Peter the Hermit,[1] deserted. These, as the chronicle plaintively adds, "had never learned to endure such plaguy hunger." The runaways were promptly brought back and, to their credit be it said, never again abandoned the cause.

On June 10, 1099, the crusaders caught their first glimpse of Jerusalem. At the sight of the Holy City they fell on their knees, and the sobs of the weeping multitude, it is said, sounded at a distance like the rustling leaves of a mighty forest or the coming in of the ocean tide.

After long and tedious preparation, during which the army suffered horribly from heat and thirst under a midsummer sun, in a country where water is scarce, the siege was at length regularly begun. It was prosecuted with such ardor that it was soon over. On Friday, July 14, so say the accounts, at the very hour when the crucified Christ gave up the ghost on the cross, with the exclamation, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit," Jerusalem was taken.

A frightful massacre ensued; seventy thousand Mohammedans were put to the sword. The crusaders spared neither sex nor age; and the Jews living in the city were burned alive in their synagogues.

55. Godfrey of Bouillon Ruler of Jerusalem; the Knights Hospitalers; St. Bernard's Crusade. — Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem, but refused the title, saying, "I will never wear a crown of gold where the Saviour of the world was crowned with thorns"; but under the name of Defender of the Holy Sepulcher he became ruler over the city. A religious order, organized originally to care for poor and sick

[1] Peter the Hermit: he had survived the first expedition and had joined the second.

pilgrims, had long existed, and had built a hospital at Jerusalem. This order was now recognized as a military body, under the name of the Knights Hospitalers. In addition to their previous work of mercy and charity, they now bound themselves by a vow to protect all pilgrims against the Saracens on their way to and from Jerusalem.

Later, a rival order, the Knights Templars, was organized for a similar purpose. The French continued to hold the city until 1187, when it was retaken by the Saracens under Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, a warrior as renowned for his noble virtues as he was for his zeal for the Mohammedan faith.

But France was not yet satisfied; for, though she possessed Jerusalem, other places that had been taken had again fallen into the hands of the enemy, while some, like Damascus, were yet to be conquered. St. Bernard, abbot of a French monastery, and the foremost churchman of his country and his age, preached a new crusade. Tearing up his gown, as he spoke, to make crosses, he called for volunteers. Thousands pressed forward to give their lives for the holy cause. The new army set out full of ardor, resolved to drive the Turk from the Holy Land; but the expedition ended in disaster and defeat.

The truth seems to be that a large number of those who joined the Second Crusade were men not fit to win a victory. St. Bernard himself denounced this class of the so-called "soldiers of Christ." Europe, as he said, was glad to get rid of them, and Palestine welcomed them to "hospitable graves." From a military point of view the expedition, as Professor Robinson[1] declares, was a miserable failure. But history shows that every great and every noble movement has its alloy of baseness, and the crusades is only another illustration of this fact.

[1] See the excellent short chapter on the Crusades in Professor James Harvey Robinson's Introduction to the History of Western Europe (Ginn & Company, 1902).

56. Rise of the Free Cities. — While these events were taking place in the East, a social revolution was going on in France, none the less important because few then realized its full significance. This was the rise of free cities. We have seen that the maxim of the feudal system was, "No land without a lord." [1] To this the towns were no exception. Every one was subject to the king or to some baron or bishop. The latter class of rulers greatly predominated, for the royal domains were then comparatively small.

Each of these towns had to pay taxes and furnish troops to its feudal owner, who in most cases was its direct master. His government of the place was often despotic to the last degree. He insisted that the people should grind their wheat in his mill, and perhaps bake their bread in his ovens, paying, of course, a round sum for the use of both. If they manufactured anything, it was under a license or tax; if they bought or sold anything, the lord of the town had to have his commission; when he quarreled with a neighboring lord, — and these quarrels were always going on, — the townsmen had to fight his battles, or else find and pay people who would.

These exactions were a fruitful cause of discontent and insurrection. As all the more important of these towns were protected by high walls and strongly fortified, if the inhabitants could once succeed in driving out the lord's officers and shutting the gates, they could then hope to get some concessions. The feudal owner might refuse them, and quite likely would lay siege to the place, but still there was always the chance that before he was able to force the inhabitants to open their gates they might make an advantageous compromise.

57. Revolt of the City of Laon; the King friendly to the Cities. — As far back as 1066–1076 such places as Le Mans and Cambrai had made attempts to secure a greater measure

[1] See Paragraph 34.

of freedom, but it was not until later that anything of much moment was accomplished.

As an example of the way in which many towns finally succeeded, let us take the case of Laon. In 1109 Laon,[1] once the capital of the Frankish kings, was under the control of a feudal bishop who, like many bishops of that day, was more warrior than churchman. His government was so oppressive that the citizens finally held a meeting in the great public square, and resolved to establish a *commune*;[2] that is, to make Laon what was then called a free city.

They succeeded in purchasing the privilege they most desired, — that of electing their own magistrates. They next got this privilege embodied in a formal grant, or charter, and paid the king a large sum of money to confirm it, in order that if any dispute should arise, appeal might be made to him. All things now went smoothly for two or three years. Then the bishop, having spent what he had received, repented his agreement and bribed the king to withdraw the charter. When the citizens learned what was going on, a great cry of "Commune! commune!" arose in the streets.

Forthwith a mob assembled, attacked the bishop's palace, dragged the trembling bishop from a large cask in which he secreted himself, and killed him with a blow from an ax. They next massacred all nobles who had not fled from the city, and set fire to the cathedral, the hated monument of the bishop's power.

The revolt, however, was put down by neighboring nobles, who feared, with good reason, that their turn might come next. Then the king canceled the charter, and those of the Laonese

[1] See Paragraph 40.

[2] Commune (from the Latin *communis*, common, meaning what all the citizens may share or take part in): the name was first given to a city or town that had obtained the right, by purchase or revolution, of managing its affairs in some degree; next, it was applied to a parish; lastly (modern), to the government of a place by the people, in opposition to the nobility or other constituted authority.

THE DOMINIONS
of the
PLANTAGENETS
in the time of
HENRY II.
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150 200
NORTH SEA
Irish Channel
English Channel
BAY OF BISCAY
Stirling
R. Forth
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Durham
ULSTER
Armagh
CONNAUGHT
Dublin
LEINSTER
Anglesey
York
R. Humber
The Wash
Chester
R. Trent
Leicester
MUNSTER
Limerick
Waterford
Wexford
Milford
R. Severn
Bristol
Oxford
Runnymede
London
R. Thames
Canterbury
Calais
Bruges
Flanders
Salisbury
Clarendon
Dover
Hastings
Boulogne
Southampton
Winchester
Exeter
Cherbourg
Havre
Rouen
Caen
NORMANDY
PARIS
Eyes
Verdun
R. Marne
Champagne
Troyes
Brest
BRITTANY
Rennes
MAINE
Le Mans
Orleans
Burgundy
Anjou
Nantes
Tours
Blois
R. Loire
Fontevrault
Chinon
Poitou
Berry
Auxerre
R. Saone
Marche
Limoges
Lyons
R. Rhone
R. Garonne
AQUITAIN
(GUIENNE)
Bordeaux
R. Isere
Auvergne
LANGUEDOC
Avignon
Arles
Provence
GASCONY
R. Adour
Toulouse
Marseilles

who escaped the sword or the gallows, found themselves worse off than before. But not to be balked, they renewed the attempt, until at length, after repeated failure, they secured a permanent charter from Philip Augustus.

During the eleventh, twelfth, and first part of the thirteenth century this process of enfranchisement was going on in different parts of France with varying degrees of success. The three principal privileges sought by the towns were: (1) the right to pay a fixed tax directly to the king, instead of being compelled to pay whatever their feudal lords might be pleased to extort through their agents; (2) to elect their own magistrates; (3) to enact and administer their own local laws. It became, indeed, for the interest of the king to favor the cities and grant the confirmation of the charters, since it placed them in great degree under his control; for if a city looked to the king for the protection of its newly acquired rights, it would naturally be willing to lend him money or furnish him troops in case of emergency.

The result was that the king could thus make himself more and more independent of the nobles, or in case of their revolt he might get the cities to aid him in bringing them to submission, — an undertaking they generally entered upon with alacrity. For these reasons the crown was the chief agent in freeing the feudal cities, and for a long time the king was really their best and most efficient friend.

58. War between Philip of France and Henry II of England. — While these changes were taking place, an event occurred in England which directly affected the welfare of France. Henry II, who came to the English throne in 1154, was a descendant of the French Duke of Anjou. He inherited several provinces in France from his parents, and then by his marriage to Queen Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII, he obtained so much more French territory that he controlled nearly all the western and southern parts of the country, and

actually possessed greater dominions in France than the French king did himself.[1]

This preponderance of power on the part of the English monarch naturally excited Philip's jealousy, and he did everything he could to encourage Henry's French vassals to revolt against their foreign master. Philip not only coveted Henry's provinces for himself, but he was determined to have them to strengthen his throne, which he hoped to make the most powerful in Europe. War broke out between the two sovereigns, but Philip accomplished nothing decisive and resolved to wait for a more favorable opportunity for carrying out his designs.

59. Philip's War with John; he takes Normandy. — He did not have to wait many years to get it. When John, Henry's fourth son, ascended the English throne, Philip felt that his opportunity had come. John's young nephew, Arthur, was Duke of Brittany. Encouraged by Philip and by some of John's vassals, he now claimed Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. War again broke out between England and France. John was at first successful.

He captured Arthur and shut him up in his castle at Rouen, where he doubtless murdered him, as the lad mysteriously disappeared and was never heard of again. But instead of pursuing the war vigorously, John remained in the castle, wasting his time in feasting, drunkenness, and debauchery, and paying no heed to his vassals, who urged him to come to their assistance in the contest with the king of France.

Philip determined to attack his enemy in his stronghold of Rouen; but the road to that city was guarded by the Château Gaillard,[2] a strong fortress on the Seine, not many leagues

[1] See Map No. VII, page 79. On Henry II and his French possessions, see Paragraph 209, The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

[2] Château Gaillard (shä-tō′ gä-yär′): Saucy Castle. It was built by John's predecessor, Richard Cœur de Lion of England; Turner, in his Rivers of France, has two striking pictures of the ruins of this famous stronghold. See, too, for

above the town. It was considered by the English sovereign impregnable, and he laughed at all efforts for its conquest. Philip attacked this famous castle, stormed it, and then marched to Rouen. When the cowardly English king heard that he was coming, he fled across the Channel, leaving Normandy to its fate.

Philip, as king of France, was in feudal law John's overlord, since the latter as Duke of Normandy held his French possessions of him. Under this law Philip now summoned John to Paris, to answer for the murder of Prince Arthur. John refused to go unless the king of France would grant him a safe return. The latter replied that his return would depend on the verdict of the court. As John wisely decided not to trust his neck to their verdict, the court met and proceeded with the trial without him. He was found guilty of both murder and treason, and his provinces in France were declared forfeited to the French crown.

Thus at one stroke Philip seized and annexed Normandy with the other English provinces north of the Loire.[1] This act gave him the absolute possession and control of a vastly increased territory, and so made his authority much greater.

60. Events in the South; Abélard; the Albigenses. — While the crafty Philip was busy consolidating and strengthening his kingdom in the north, events occurred in the south of France which, in the end, powerfully helped forward his design of uniting the whole country into a compact monarchy.

For upwards of a century the inhabitants of Albi, a city and district of Toulouse,[2] belonging to Count Raymond, had been especially obnoxious to the pope. They were rich, self-indulgent, and often licentious; but worse than all, in the

copies of Turner's pictures, the illustrated edition of Green's Short History of the English People. One is reproduced opposite page 174.

[1] This forfeiture did not affect Aquitaine (a district south of the Loire), since that district was the inheritance of John's mother (Queen Eleanor).

[2] Albi or Alby: see Map No. IX, page 118.

eyes of the Church, they were heretical; for they had imbibed certain peculiar Eastern ideas, which made them unwilling to accept the theology or the authority of Rome. This condition of things was an illustration of the fact that, as Duruy says, the south of France had long been separated from the north. It had a different language and different customs. In Toulouse and other rich and splendid cities, life was far more brilliant than in the north; and in the gay court of Count Raymond, enlivened by the songs of the troubadours,[1] religious doctrines were as lightly treated as manners and morals.

Now whatever may be the case to-day, there can be little doubt that the chief need of society then was greater order and unity. Just as the king was bent on enforcing his authority, so the pope was determined to enforce his; and as independence in thought is apt to lead to independence in action, both king and pope were opposed to any deviation from the standards they had respectively set up.

Already Abélard,[2] a noted teacher of philosophy, had attracted thousands of young men to Paris to hear his discussions, and his defense of the principle that "we should not believe what we do not understand."

His teachings had been condemned by the Church as dangerous; he had been compelled to burn his writings in the public square, and he himself, separated from his devoted wife Héloise,[3] died, after a life of sorrow, in the enforced restraint of a monastery.

If the free thinking of one man could not be tolerated in that age, still less would that of a whole people like those of Albi be permitted to go unrebuked and unpunished. After several ineffectual remonstrances, in the course of which the pope's legate or representative was murdered by the Albigenses,[4] the

[1] See Paragraph 43.
[2] Abélard (ä-bā-lar′); English, Abelard.
[3] Héloise (ā-l-ō-eez′).
[4] Albigenses: the name given to the inhabitants of Albi and vicinity.

Church resolved to order a crusade against them. They were accordingly declared to be infidels, and as fit subjects for attack as the Mohammedans of the East. As there were excellent prospects of pillage and confiscation, it was not difficult to find men ready to undertake an expedition against the rich and insolent heretics of Albi.

61. Simon de Montfort leads the Crusade against the Albigenses; Political Results. — Simon de Montfort, a Norman noble, became the leader of this terrible crusade, which began in 1207, and continued for upwards of thirty-five years.

Albi was under the government of Count Raymond of Toulouse. He was friendly to the people, but was compelled to enter the war against them. As the contest went on, it increased in ferocity, until at last the whole Albigensian country was given up to massacre and destruction. Even old men, aged women, and innocent children were remorselessly slaughtered, lest in some way the seed of unbelief might by chance be preserved and take root again.

Not even those who promised to confess their guilt and go back to the communion of the Church could obtain mercy. Two heretics had been taken captive at Castres:[1] one remained obstinate; the other begged for life, and offered to publicly recant. "Burn them both," said the inflexible Simon; "if this fellow who asserts his repentance means what he says, the fire will expiate his past sin; if he lies, and is still a heretic, he will suffer the penalty of his deception."

Eventually this smiling, thickly populated, and prosperous province was reduced to a desert. Where there had been rich towns, nothing was left but mounds of ashes; where there had been lofty castles, there were only ruins. The fields and the vineyards were desolate; the mill wheel turned idly in the stream; the very wells were choked up with human bodies and heaps of stone. Nothing could withstand Montfort's

[1] Castres (käst'r).

warriors. Even Carcassonne, the most perfectly fortified city of southern France, was taken by storm. To-day it stands not only a monument of that terrible crusade, but the most picturesque stronghold of mediæval times, well worth a journey of many hundred miles to see.

The war had begun as a crusade against heresy, but it ended in conquest and almost in extermination. The feudal lords had been decimated, and the troubadours[1] with their songs now vanished forever. Simon got a goodly share of the country as the reward of his zeal. Philip had refused to take part in the crusade; yet on the death of Count Raymond and his heirs, not many years later, in the reign of Philip's grandson, the whole country reverted to the crown.

Thus all of southern France west of Provence, except Aquitaine, which still belonged to England, was absorbed into the growing monarchy. A little more than two centuries before, Hugh Capet, the first of the French line of kings, had to content himself with a realm which embraced simply a moderate-sized district about Paris; now, the whole north and the greater part of the west, east, and south acknowledged allegiance to what was to be eventually the greatest sovereignty in Europe.

62. Philip's Good Government; Battle of Bouvines and its Results. — Philip's refusal to take part in the destruction of the Albigenses was the result of policy. He saw that his best course was to devote himself to the north and make that sure first. While Simon was pillaging and massacring at the south, the king was not idle. He had already placed the University of Paris on a secure basis (1200), and had organized a supreme court of justice.

Furthermore, in order to check the private wars of the barons, which kept the whole land in a turmoil, he decreed that the attacking party must wait forty days before commencing

[1] See Paragraph 43.

hostilities against the offender or his relatives.[1] These measures, with revisions in the feudal laws, and with the improvements he made in Paris, were of great advantage to every one.

Later in his reign, Philip was drawn into a new war with England. In the hope of recovering Normandy and the other provinces which he had so ignominiously lost, John now resolved to attack France. He formed an alliance with his kinsman, the German emperor, who was hostile to Philip, and also one with Ferrand, Count of Flanders,[2] Philip's vassal. When Ferrand was summoned by the French king to aid him in his preparations for war against England, he flatly refused to take part. Philip, enraged at his conduct, cried out, "Either France shall become Flanders, or Flanders France." He gathered an immense force, made up not only of fully armed barons, bishops, and knights clad in steel and well mounted, but also of a large body of foot soldiers sent by sixteen free cities and towns. With this army he set out to conquer or perish.

At Bouvines[3] (1214), on the river Mark, near Lille,[4] in the north of France, he met the enemy. A desperate battle was fought at the bridge over the river, and Philip gained the day. It was one of the most memorable contests of the Middle Ages, for on that hard-fought field three great branches of the Teutonic race — Germans, Flemings, and English — went down before the furious onset of a race of "hostile blood and speech."[5]

[1] Before this it had been the custom of a noble who considered himself injured or insulted by another, not only to make war against him without notice, but to stealthily and unexpectedly attack and murder the offender's relations, who perhaps knew nothing of the quarrel. This decree of "quarantine," or forty days' delay, had a most salutary effect.

[2] Flanders: a province north of France, now part of Belgium.

[3] Bouvines (bōō-vēn′).

[4] Lille (lēl).

[5] Freeman's Norman Conquest.

It was the first great French victory on the continent of Europe, and it had far-reaching results. John's claim to Normandy was now hopelessly lost, and he never again renewed it; thus the unity of the French kingdom in the north was permanently established, and the royal power so strengthened that the king was immensely superior to his greatest vassals. Next, the defeat and imprisonment of Ferrand — for he was carried captive to Paris — was a great blow to feudal insolence and insubordination. It settled the fact that the barons could no longer hope to rebel with impunity against a sovereign whose army was strengthened by the citizens of the free towns. Lastly, it was a triumph which seemed to rouse a new feeling, that of loyalty and patriotism. At Bouvines lords, clergy, and common people had fought side by side, not in a petty local quarrel, not in civil war, but against a foreign foe.

Henceforth there was a bond of pride uniting these classes. The humble citizen was no longer spoken of with contempt. He now had a kind of military rank. He, as well as the noble, was a supporter of the king, and the king was endeavoring to become the head of a nation, though it was yet too early for the great body of the people to comprehend that idea of nationality which was to be developed later at the terrible cost of a hundred years of war with England.[1]

63. Renewal of the Crusades under St. Louis; his Reforms; the Parliament of Paris; End of the Crusades. — While these changes were going on in France, the crusades still remained undecided. Though they had begun in France, yet gradually all Europe had been drawn into them. With France, which had been not only first but chief in these wars for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher, the crusades were destined to end. Philip Augustus, in the early part of his reign, had joined

[1] It is a noteworthy fact that John's defeat at Bouvines compelled him to grant Magna Charta to the barons in England. See Green's Short History of the English People.

Richard the Lion-Hearted of England in one of these expeditions to the East, but had accomplished nothing. During the short reign of his son and successor, Louis VIII, no new attempt was made in that quarter.

But in the next reign an effort was once more made to conquer Palestine; and of all the great leaders who had taken part in these wars, whether barons, bishops, kings, or emperors, certainly no purer or truer champion can be found than Louis IX. With a single exception,[1] he is the only sovereign known in the long line of French kings that ever received the title of Saint; and, stranger than all, he really deserved it, since of such a man any age, faith, or people might well be proud.

He was by nature a reformer and a lover of justice. Seated under the great oak of Vincennes[2] he judged his people righteously. He did more; he forbade private war and trial by battle.[3] But his greatest work was the establishment of a high court of justice for the effectual trial and settlement of all disputes between baron and baron. Certainly, when a French nobleman did not hesitate to hang three other nobles for killing rabbits in his woods, it was time that some tribunal should be organized powerful enough to call the high-born murderer to account. Such was the purpose of the judicial tribunal called the Parliament of Paris,[4] which St. Louis founded in

[1] Charlemagne was canonized in 1165, but he never received the title of Saint.

[2] Vincennes (vĭn-sĕnz′): a suburb of Paris.

[3] See Paragraph 30.

[4] Particular care should be taken not to be misled by this word "Parliament." The French institution here mentioned was not, like the English Parliament, a legislative, and it never became a representative, body. Originally it consisted of the great vassals of the king, who met to deliberate with him on important matters; but from the time of St. Louis it became chiefly a high court of justice, which gradually came to be made up of lawyers and ecclesiastics, with a few nobles. Besides acting as a judicial tribunal, it registered wills and royal edicts. Theoretically, this registration of the king's decrees was necessary to give them the full force of law; but as a matter of fact, the king, in cases where the Parliament objected, generally compelled registration in spite of their protest. Eventually, twelve provincial parliaments or courts were established; but the Parliament of Paris continued to rank first.

1258, and which did such good service that it earned the gratitude of all except those who were condemned to suffer the penalties it imposed.

More than twenty years after his accession St. Louis entered upon his first crusade. He failed in it, was taken prisoner with his entire army, and obtained their release only by paying a heavy ransom.

The last crusade, the ninth, he began in 1270. He sailed from that port on the Mediterranean which is now overlooked by the battlements of the deserted city of Aigues Mortes.[1] It proved fatal to him and to two of his children: all died of fever. At his own request, he breathed his last lying on a sack covered with ashes, as a sign of his humility and contrition — a proof that the tenderest and most blameless consciences often reproach themselves most. Voltaire, who seldom had a good word for any one, said of St. Louis, "It is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point." He left as his monument his character, his deeds of justice and mercy, and lastly, that little church of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, which still stands in flawless beauty and perfect symmetry to worthily commemorate the soul of him who built it.[2]

His son, Philip III, a weak-minded, rash, and ignorant man, made a poor ruler. He returned to France from his father's deathbed, bringing five coffins with him, — that of his father, those of his father's brother and the brother's wife, and lastly, those of his own wife and child.

That funeral procession of victims of the ill-fated expedition was emblematic of the close of the crusades. At last the forlorn struggle which Christendom had waged for centuries ceased. It had cost several millions of lives, and had ended

[1] Aigues Mortes (āg̃ môrt): that singular and most interesting ruin on the French coast just east of the eastern mouth of the Rhone.

[2] See an interesting article on St. Louis in the *North American Review*, April, 1846.

by leaving the Mohammedans in triumphant possession of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

64. Results of the Crusades. — Yet the crusades were, perhaps, worth all the blood they cost.

1. They were "the first European event." They united all Christendom in a war for an idea. Before, men had battled with each other out of ambition, avarice, or revenge; but the crusades sprang mainly from a religious motive. They elevated those who engaged in them, for a time at least, above the old discords which had bred constant civil war and so made every people self-destroying.

2. They checked the westward Mohammedan movement and saved Europe from invasion for nearly two centuries.

3. They hastened the freedom of the cities and the emancipation of the serfs, since it often happened that the great barons were obliged to grant the privileges of municipal or personal liberty in order to raise money to equip themselves and their troops.

4. They increased the power of the king, since while his great vassals were absent he met with less opposition at home; and this increase of royal power gave greater unity to the kingdom.

5. They created friendly relations between the nobles and their humble dependents, and so tended to unite society more closely.

6. They taught the people of Europe the geography of their own continent, together with that of a part of Asia; they stimulated commerce, built new cities, and imparted wonderful impetus to many already built on the Mediterranean and in its vicinity; they brought new arts, new products, and new methods of agriculture from the East, and they encouraged men to write histories and poems relating to the wars, which had no small influence on literature.

7. Finally, they kindled new intellectual life in France and throughout the West. The Christians found to their

astonishment that the Saracens were neither idolaters nor barbarians; that, in fact, they were men who worshiped the same God with themselves, and were, on the whole, far more civilized.

From the Saracens or Arabs, directly or indirectly, the University of Paris got its first real knowledge of the classics, the higher mathematics, and the principles of natural science, which in time it imparted to England and the north. Thus did the crusades teach the Christians the truth of the old Latin saying that "it is allowable to learn even from an enemy."

8. The evils of the crusades were experienced chiefly by the generations who took part in them. But there was one result that made its baneful influence felt long afterwards. The idea that religious wars were particularly pleasing to God was fostered by these campaigns against the Mohammedans. This dreadful delusion was one of the incentives to the destruction of the Albigenses;[1] and it was also the cause of bloodshed and persecution centuries after the crusades had ended.

65. Summary. — The period of the crusades includes the conquest of Normandy, which greatly extended the royal domain and power. This event is followed by the rise of the free cities, the destruction of the Albigenses, and the battle of Bouvines, all of which tended to strengthen the king and to give greater unity to his realm. The period ends with the establishment of the Parliament of Paris and the close of the crusades.

[1] See Paragraphs 60 and 61.

SECTION VIII

In France, before the Hundred Years' War, "each one was a citizen of his particular city and nothing more; but brought face to face with the English, the sentiment of nationality was aroused, and henceforth each felt himself a Frenchman, or citizen of France."— DURUY.

PHILIP THE FAIR — BATTLE OF COURTRAI — THE PAPAL QUARREL — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATES-GENERAL — SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS — THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR — JOAN OF ARC. 1270–1461

PHILIP III, 1270–1285.
PHILIP THE FAIR, 1285–1314.
LOUIS X, 1314–1316.
PHILIP V, 1316–1322.
CHARLES IV, 1322–1328.
PHILIP VI, 1328–1350.
JOHN THE GOOD, 1350–1364.
CHARLES V, 1364–1380.
CHARLES VI, 1380–1422.
CHARLES VII, 1422–1461.

66. Philip III; Increase of Royal Power; Questions of the Day. — The fifteen years' reign of Philip III, the son and successor of St. Louis, need not detain us long, since it was a period of comparative quiet. The king's uncle Alfonso, whose body Philip brought home from the East,[1] left no children, and the great county of Toulouse, in the south of France, which he had held, now fell to the crown.

The effect of this addition to the royal domain was, of course, to decidedly increase the king's power, and furthermore to give him an extensive seaboard on the Mediterranean, then the most important sea in the world. Out of this new territory

[1] See Paragraph 63.

Philip granted the county of Venaissin, including part of the city of Avignon,[1] on the Rhone, to the pope, and from that time until the French Revolution — a period of over five hundred years — this province continued subject to Rome.

One of the most significant acts of Philip's uneventful reign was his conferring a title of nobility on his silversmith, Raoul.[2] Up to this time the theory was that a nobleman "is born, not made," and rank depended on ownership of land and ability to defend it. Here then was a startling innovation which angered the feudal barons not a little. They saw with reason that the king's act was a heavy blow at their exclusive power. It meant that he claimed the right of making a common man their equal.

This had a twofold effect: on the one hand it opened a way for the unprivileged classes to rise, and so made them of more influence; on the other, it made the king's will more respected, because he could now give — what his predecessors could not — title and social standing. In principle, therefore, this lifting of an artisan to noble rank was one step — a short one, it is true, but still a step — toward the ultimate overthrow of the power of the feudal aristocracy.

The remainder of Philip's reign was taken up with questions relating to the internal state of the kingdom. Men no longer interested themselves in religious matters as they had during the crusades, or at that earlier period when they thought the world was near its end. They had settled down to the conclusion that it was useless fighting for Christ's tomb any longer; and as for the world, it seemed likely to last their day at least and quite possibly some time beyond.

Hence the absorbing points of debate were of a political and social character. Should the serfs be made free? Should commerce be encouraged by the removal of restrictions and the vigorous punishment of thieves and brigands? Should

[1] Avignon (ä-vēn-yŏN′). [2] Raoul (rä-o͞ol′).

the royal power be supported and extended? Such were the questions asked in the walled cities and in the castles.

The welfare of the country depended in great measure on how they should be answered; for most men were then slaves, and the great barons were still so lawless and rapacious that one of them, whose estate was on the coast, pointed with pride to a huge cliff, declaring, "That stone is worth more than the diamonds of the king's crown." He might well say so; for that rock with its false lights had lured to destruction many a vessel whose rich cargo the baron and his merry men soon had safely stowed away within the castle walls.

67. Philip the Fair [1] versus England. — But this period of comparative freedom from foreign wars was not destined to continue. In 1285 Philip the Fair came to the throne. Though in name and in person he was fair, in character he was just the opposite. It was evident from the outset that the new king was determined that France should be ruled by the French, and that England should no longer be allowed to have a powerful influence in her affairs.

It was probably with the purpose of bringing this question to an issue that Philip summoned Edward I. of England to appear at Paris and do homage for the domain which he held in France.[2] Edward, who had just brought Wales into subjection, and may have then been meditating attempting the like with Scotland, wished to keep on good terms with France. He accordingly went to Paris and, publicly kneeling at Philip's feet, repeated the customary form of feudal oath, saying, "I become your liege [3] man for the lands I hold of you, this side the sea, according to the terms of peace which were made between our ancestors."

[1] Philip le Bel: *i.e.*, Philip the Handsome or the Fair. Dante calls him the pest of France.

[2] Aquitaine, south of the Loire. See Paragraph 59, Note 1, page 81.

[3] Liege: loyal or faithful. Every vassal, whatever his rank, was required to do homage to his feudal lord.

In spite, however, of Edward's desire to avoid a rupture with France, Philip soon found a pretext for beginning hostilities. The quarrel of some French and English sailors gave him an opportunity for declaring war. Edward, who was anxious to concentrate all his power on the conquest of Scotland, offered to make concessions. Philip agreed to the terms, but by trickery soon managed to turn them to his own advantage and thus got control of Edward's castles in Aquitaine.[1] He then induced the Parliament of Paris[2] — in other words, the supreme court of the realm — to decide that the English king had legally forfeited them. Edward remonstrated, but in vain. Then he made a secret alliance with the count of Flanders, Philip's vassal. Philip found it out, and forced the count to break off all relations with Edward.

But the wool trade was so profitable to both England and Flanders that a new political and commercial treaty was soon negotiated between them, and the count formally renounced his allegiance to France. War of course ensued. Flanders submitted. The wealth of Bruges[3] and other Flemish cities was so enormous that when the queen of France saw the ladies in their silks and jewels she exclaimed in envious astonishment, "Why, they are all queens here!" The greed of the French governors for that wealth caused a frightful revolt.

68. Battle of Courtrai. — Philip forthwith declared a new war, and a great battle was fought at Courtrai.[4] On one side was the flower of the French chivalry clad in full armor and mounted on powerful horses; on the other, the cloth weavers of Flanders, on foot, in their leather jackets. The townsmen prepared themselves for action by holding a religious service, confessing their sins, and taking up their position back of a narrow but deep canal.

[1] Aquitaine: see Map No. VIII, page 198. [3] Bruges (brū'jĕz or brüzh).
[2] See Paragraph 63. [4] Courtrai (koor-trā'): a town of Belgium.

When the word was given, Philip's troops raised the shout "God and St. Denis" [1]; and, driving their spurs deep into their horses' flanks, they charged at full speed across the plain. Their headlong haste and the dense cloud of dust which they raised prevented their seeing the fatal ditch. Into it they madly plunged, and in a moment the muddy waters of the canal were filled with a struggling, helpless, drowning mass of men and horses.

As fast as the French tried to climb the steep and slippery banks, the Flemish patriots knocked them on the head like cattle, or pushed them back to sink under the weight of their heavy armor. When the massacre was over, the exultant victors collected over four thousand gilt spurs and hung them as trophies in Courtrai cathedral.

Thus perished a great number of the proudest nobles and richest landholders of France. On the one hand, it was a terrible blow to the arrogant chivalry of that day; on the other, it wonderfully strengthened the sturdy Flemish [2] cloth manufacturers in their long struggle for independence.

69. Increase of Philip's Power. — Singularly enough, though the first effect of that crushing defeat was disastrous to the pretensions of Philip, yet in the end it helped his designs. The destruction of so many of the French nobility removed the chief check on the arbitrary exercise of royal power. Thus the king gained at Courtrai more than he lost.

Furthermore, the estates of all those who left no heirs fell to the crown; and as by feudal law the sovereign became also the guardian of those heirs that were under age, — a most lucrative office in those days, — the result was that Philip became far richer than before.

Through his influence the lawyers got control of the Parliament of Paris.[3] They hated the aristocracy and the Church,

[1] St. Denis was the patron saint of France.

[2] Flemish: pertaining to the people of Flanders.

[3] See Paragraph 63.

but were always ready to serve the hand that held the scepter. Their motto was, "As wills the king, so wills the law."

In England, too, he gained some power. His daughter Isabelle married Edward II. Through this corrupt and shameless woman, who well earned the name of the "she-wolf of France," Philip obtained a formidable and baneful influence over the English court, and indirectly over the course of English affairs.

70. Quarrel with the Pope. — Meanwhile the unscrupulous monarch became involved in a controversy with the pope which had momentous consequences. The ordinary feudal revenue had now utterly given out, and as the king needed large sums of money to push his ambitious schemes, he levied a general tax, assessing the clergy as well as the laity. The clergy, however, vigorously resented this tax, desiring, if possible, to pay their dues to the state in prayers, not cash.

A long and bitter dispute arose, in which the pope took their side against the king. In the end, however, the pope so far yielded as to agree to the impost, provided it should be necessary for the defense of the realm. But the quarrel soon broke out again over some property which the king and the pope both claimed.

Money Philip must and would have, and in his own way. He had already resorted to all kinds of devices to get it. He had sold titles of nobility to men of low birth.[1] He had robbed the Jews of the realm, who were the bankers of that age. He had issued base money, and so made coin that was half pewter do duty for honest silver. Finally he had freed every serf and slave on his domain who could afford to pay handsomely for the privilege;[2] and having thus begun, he was not likely to stop in his system of rapacity and extortion.

[1] See Paragraph 66.

[2] In the next reign, 1315, the king freed all of the crown serfs.

In 1301 the pope sent the king a bull[1] of censure. Philip ordered the hangman to burn it. Then a new bull appeared, short, sharp, and peremptory. Its genuineness is doubtful. Possibly the king and his lawyers fabricated it for political purposes. It began: "Boniface, the Pope, to Philip the Fair, greeting: Know, O Supreme Prince, that thou art subject to us in all things."

The king circulated this, and with it this burlesque bull in reply: "Philip to Boniface, little or no greeting: Be it known to thy Supreme Idiocy that we are subject to no man in political matters. Those who think otherwise we count to be fools and madmen."

71. The First States-General or National Assembly.[2] — Not satisfied with hurling this contemptuous defiance at the pope, the king now resolved to appeal to the country against him. To this end he summoned a national assembly to meet in Paris, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, in 1302. This body differed from all previous gatherings, from the fact that Philip not only called the clergy and the nobility, but for the first time in the history of the country he summoned representatives from the free cities.

The States-General had, however, no legislative, but only advisory and petitioning power. In the assembly of these representatives we have the beginning of what may be called the French House of Commons. It showed that a strong middle class had now arisen who were so prosperous and influential that even the king found it expedient to ask their advice and coöperation.[3]

[1] Bull: a papal decree or order. It gets its name from the *bulla*, or leaden seal, attached to it.

[2] States-General: the body was so called because it was composed of the three chief states or classes of the realm; viz., the clergy, the nobility, and the citizens chosen as representatives by the free towns.

[3] In the reign of St. Louis a new class of citizens had arisen, called the "Citizens of the King." They had obtained the right of appeal to the crown in cases of trial before the feudal courts. Philip greatly extended this class by ordering that any one might renounce his feudal lord and take the king for his lord and protector.

Philip's object in invoking this class was not the interests of the people, but the advancement of his own selfish purposes. He and his successors simply used the commons, first, as a convenient tool or weapon to hold the nobility and clergy in restraint, and next, as a means for getting larger sums of money voted than the upper classes by themselves would have been willing to grant.[1]

72. Contrast between the English Parliament and the French States-General. — Still the French kings from Philip onward dreaded the growing power of the people so much that they seldom called a full national assembly if they could possibly avoid it. If we compare the English Parliament — first fully organized in 1295 — with the French States-General, we find this striking difference: in England, from that time forward, no important action was taken without consulting all classes or their representatives;[2] while in France, from 1302 to 1789, a period of nearly five hundred years, the States-General was summoned but thirteen times, or, on the average, only about once in forty years.

Another fact which should be distinctly kept in view is that even when the French States-General did meet, its House of Commons possessed but little direct power. In England the lower house was constantly gaining in political strength and influence, so that at last it became in some important respects superior to the House of Lords. In France, on the contrary, the nobility with the clergy could outvote the representatives of the people two to one.[3] Still, though the French States-General was so far inferior to the English Parliament, its

[1] It was understood that the king could not tax the lands of the nobility and clergy without their consent; and now that many cities were free, he was obliged to ask their consent in like manner.

[2] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

[3] In the States-General the three estates voted by classes, and not, as in the English Parliament, by individuals. Hence, in every case where the nobility and clergy were united, as they usually were, they would cast two votes to the commons' one, and therefore could easily vote down any measure originating with the people.

existence — or, rather, its occasional existence — imposed some restraint on the tyranny of the crown, and during the worst periods served to keep hope alive in the hearts of the oppressed.

73. The Assembly's Remonstrance; the Pope's Reply. — This famous assembly of 1302 gave its support to the king. The clergy, of course, did this reluctantly, since it arrayed them in opposition to the pope; but as they found that both the lords and the commons took the side of the crown, they did not dare to do differently. Remonstrances were accordingly drawn up, declaring that neither the nobility nor the people wanted the pope or any one else to meddle in matters that concerned no one but them and the king. Thus, says Martin, the French nation virtually proclaimed its independence of Rome.

Boniface replied by asserting his authority more explicitly even than before. All kings, he said, were subject to him, whereas he was accountable to God only. He ended with a new bull containing a solemn curse, cutting off Philip from all communion with the Church in this world and from all hope of salvation in the world to come. Philip, who feared neither God nor man, retorted with an indictment charging the pope with infamous crimes and demanding his trial. The pope rejoined by threatening to issue a final bull deposing the rebellious king and giving his crown to the German emperor.

74. Brutal Assault on the Pope; the "Babylonish Captivity." — This menace of deposition brought matters to a crisis. Certain friends of the king started secretly for Italy. When they reached the papal palace, they forced their way into the presence of the aged pontiff. They overwhelmed him with the foulest abuse, and finally one of them struck him a heavy blow in the face with his steel-plated gauntlet.[1] The

[1] The gauntlet was a long glove of stout leather, plated with steel on the back to protect the hand in battle.

shock of this brutal assault proved fatal to the old man, and he died shortly afterward. His successor made concessions to the French king, but insisted on excommunicating the murderers of the late pope, and soon mysteriously died.

Philip now managed to get the election of pope into his own hands. The cardinals[1] chose for pope one to whom the king had privately offered the office on certain conditions. One of the chief of these was that the king was to have a tenth of the revenue of the Church of France for five years; another was that whenever the king should present a final request, not then made known, the pope was at once to grant it. The candidate, it is said, promised everything, and by Philip's influence he was chosen to the pontifical office in 1305.

But though pope in name, he soon found that in reality he was little more than prisoner. Philip was too cunning to trust his tool out of his power. He would not allow him to reside at Rome, but permitted him to take up his residence at Avignon,[2] in which place he and his successors continued for upwards of seventy years in that state of humiliation derisively termed the "Babylonish Captivity."[3]

Their condition of subjection to the will of such French sovereigns as Philip was in striking contrast to the condition of the Church in earlier times. Then, indeed, stern but righteous popes like Gregory VII and Innocent III had wielded supreme power. They were men who loved justice and hated iniquity. They summoned kings and emperors to the bar of judgment; and though they sometimes exercised their authority arrogantly and perhaps unjustly, yet on the other hand they protected the oppressed and did not fear to punish crime in high places.

[1] Cardinals: dignitaries in the Catholic Church ranking next to the pope. They elect the pope from one of their own number.

[2] Avignon: see Paragraph 66.

[3] "Babylonish Captivity": so called in allusion to the captivity of the Jews for seventy years at Babylon. In 1378 the Italians elected a pope at Rome, and the French chose another at Avignon. This "Great Schism" ended in 1417, when the Pope of Rome again became the supreme and sole head of the Church.

75. The Destruction of the Templars (1307).—The secret request which the new pope bound himself to grant is generally supposed to have been the destruction of the Knights Templars.[1] It will be remembered that this order was established to protect pilgrims going to the Holy Land. Now that these pilgrimages had practically ceased, and that the Mohammedans were left in undisturbed possession of Jerusalem, there was no longer any definite work for the Templars to perform. During the crusades they had saved thousands of lives on the battlefield and in the hospital; but those services were now forgotten, and the order, which had grown rich and powerful, was accused of idleness, luxury, and evil life.

The very fact that such rumors were circulated and generally believed shows that the days of religious enthusiasm were over. The keen-sighted and avaricious king soon saw how these scandalous reports might be turned to advantage. The Templars owned thousands of valuable estates in France, England, and other countries of Europe. Philip had long coveted their wealth, and now resolved to get possession of the property they held in his dominions. It is true that the Templars had saved his life by opening the doors of their stronghold in Paris to him when, during a riot, the mob were in hot pursuit; but that did not hinder him from his purpose.

The Grand Master of the order and many prominent members were arrested by the king's command, and were charged with a long catalogue of terrible crimes. They vehemently denied them; but finally, in the agony of protracted torture, confessed their guilt. History looks upon that confession, as upon all evidence extorted by the rack, not as the calm utterance of truth, but as the pitiful cry of human weakness.

It was, however, all that Philip required. The Grand Master and his fellow-sufferers now retracted their confession; instead of saving them, that fact was used against them, and they were

[1] Knights Templars: see Paragraph 55.

sent to the stake as relapsed heretics; the order, which had existed for nearly two centuries, was abolished; its estates were sold, and the royal coffers were speedily filled to overflowing with the "price of blood." [1]

A legend tells us that thereafter every year an armed figure issued from the Grand Master's tomb on the anniversary of his death, crying, "Who will liberate the Holy Sepulcher?" [2] to which a voice from the vault would reply, "No one; for behold, the Templars are destroyed."

The real value of such a legend is the idea of retribution which it expresses. The wealth which Philip had acquired by murder and confiscation gave his house only temporary strength, for events were destined to strip his descendants of whatever they inherited from him.

76. Relations of France and England; the Hundred Years' War. — In 1328 Charles IV, the last of the direct line of the Capetian kings,[3] died, leaving no son to succeed him. The crown accordingly passed to Charles's cousin, Philip of Valois [4] (Philip VI), who thus became founder of the dynasty of that name.[5] For a long time previous to this change France had,

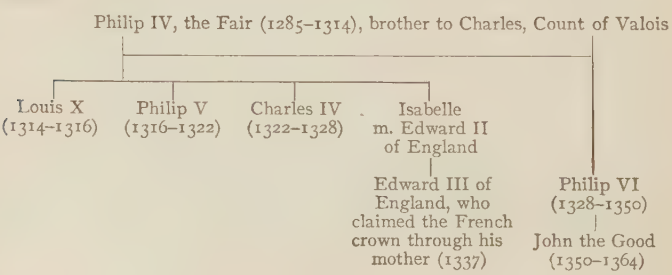
[1] The order was abolished at the same time in England and elsewhere, but without the cruelties and destruction of life which disgraced Philip's act.

[2] The Holy Sepulcher: the sepulcher of Christ at Jerusalem.

[3] It should be noticed that, though the Capetian line now took another name, — that of Valois, from Philip VI of Valois, — yet it did not actually end until long after the French Revolution, viz., in 1848.

[4] Valois (väl-wä').

[5] Table showing the descendants of Philip the Fair, the beginning of the dynasty or house of Valois, and the claim of Edward III of England to the throne of France.



as we have seen, been on ill terms with England. In fact, we may say that this feeling began as far back as the Norman Conquest.[1] Not only had the French kings endeavored to get the English possessions in France, and to break up the English wool trade with Flanders by seizing the vessels engaged in it, but they had formed hostile alliances with Scotland, and laid waste parts of the English coast.

When Charles IV died, Edward III of England claimed the throne of France on the ground that, since his mother, Queen Isabelle, was sister to Charles, he therefore stood next in the regular order of succession.[2] To this the French answered that, according to the Salic Law,[3] which they now declared to be the established law of the realm, Edward III could not legally demand the crown of France, since his mother, having no right in herself to royal power, could not, of course, transmit any claim to it to her son.

Edward, however, found that the English people were ready to sustain him; and as Philip had attacked his possessions in Aquitaine,[4] and was preparing to put down an insurrection in Flanders which Edward supported, war was declared in 1337.[5] Such was the beginning of a contest which, from its duration, got the name of the Hundred Years' War.

77. Beginning of the War; Crécy (1346). — For several years nothing decisive was accomplished on either side, but in 1340 the English gained a battle at Sluys,[6] which was followed six years later (1346) by the brilliant victory of Crécy,[7]

1 See Paragraph 49.

2 See table above.

3 Salic Law: this law originally related to the descent of estates among the Salian Franks. By it women were denied the right to inherit land. The lawyers now found it convenient to make it include the succession to the crown, thus confining the throne to males.

4 See Map No. VIII, page 108.

5 Still another reason for the war was Edward's refusal to surrender the Count of Artois, who had attempted Philip's life and then fled to England.

6 Sluys (slois): on coast of Flanders.

7 Crécy (krĕs′ sĭ or krā-sē′): see Map No. VIII, page 108.

in the northwest of France. Here, it is said, cannon were first used in battle. Gunpowder had, it is true, long been known to such chemical experimenters as the English monk, Roger Bacon of Oxford, but only as a means of idle amusement. Now its terrible power was to be turned by man against the life of his fellow-man.

The rude artillery made use of by the English consisted, however, of only three or four ridiculously small cannon, which were employed chiefly to frighten Philip's cavalry. According to Villani, an Italian historian of that day, the English artillery made the earth tremble, and the report was so terrible to the ears of those who heard powder speak for the first time, that the enemy thought that "God thundered." He adds that the horses were thrown into great confusion, and that many of their riders were killed.[1]

The battle was gained, not by the cannon, but by the stalwart English archers. The French king had hired a force of fifteen thousand Genoese crossbowmen to aid him in the war, and these were ordered to advance. But they were exhausted by a long march of eighteen miles. Besides this, a thunderstorm had drenched them to the skin, and so wet the strings of their heavy steel crossbows that they were slack and practically useless.[2] The English archers, who had been resting all day, and whose bowstrings had been kept dry, had also the advantage of position. The setting sun was behind them, while its blinding rays shone directly in the eyes of the enemy as they reluctantly moved forward against them.

To support the dispirited Genoese, Philip had a splendid body of horsemen in full armor, who "formed a great hedge

[1] Froissart, the French historian, makes no mention of the use of cannon; but Martin (Histoire de France) and several other excellent authorities accept Villani's account. For the opposite view, see Kitchin's France.

[2] The bowstrings were made of sinews, and therefore, when wet, would stretch so as to be almost useless. The crossbows were cumbrous affairs and had to be bent by winding a crank, whereby so much time was lost that the English, with their light, long bows, bent by hand, could fire five shots to one of the enemy's.

behind them." Edward, on the contrary, though he did not undervalue his cavalry, depended mainly on his foot soldiers, who were yeomen armed with long, light bows of tough yew-tree wood. Though outnumbered by more than three to one, the English were confident of the result. The Genoese set up a great shout to frighten them. Their reply was a volley of well-aimed shafts. Then the battle began in good earnest, and the white arrows of Edward's men flew so thick and fast that it seemed to those who saw them like a furious snowstorm.

That fatal snowstorm decided the day; for neither man nor horse could withstand those steel-barbed bolts. Edward's young son, the Black Prince,[1] did such deeds of valor that his name became from that time a terror to the enemy; and when the sun went down, though Philip and his knights had fought like brave men, yet France had to mourn the most terrible defeat she had ever experienced. Could she have learned the lesson of that bloody field, and clearly seen that she lost it because she lacked the yeoman class, — the men who owned the little farms they tilled, and who, bow in hand, felt no fear and begged no favor, — she might perhaps have been spared some greater humiliations still in store for her.

78. **Siege of Calais; the Brave Six.** — Edward, however, instead of advancing on Paris, next laid siege to Calais,[2] the chief port on the Channel, which, if taken, would always be an open door to France. He took the place after nearly a year's siege, having fairly starved the people into surrender. Exasperated at the length of the siege, Edward demanded that six of the chief citizens should bring him the keys of the city and then submit to his will.

St. Pierre,[3] the richest man in Calais, offered to be the first of the six. Five others then volunteered. With halters

[1] So called by the French, it is said, on account of the color of his armor.
[2] Calais (kăl'ĭs or kä-lā'): see Map No. VIII, page 108.
[3] St. Pierre (săN pēr'): see the full account in Froissart's Chronicles.

round their necks, to show that their lives were at the king's mercy, they entered the English camp and gave up the keys. Edward ordered them to instant death; but Queen Philippa, who had just come to him, fell on her knees and begged so piteously with tears and prayers that they might be spared, that the king relented, and the brave six were set free.

The English now took possession of the town, garrisoned it, and held it as a constant menace to the power of France for over two hundred years. The breaking out of a frightful pestilence known as the Black Death put a stop to the war, and so terrible was the mortality that all Europe was busy for the next two years in burying its dead.

79. Battle of Poitiers; "Jacques Bonhomme"; Étienne Marcel. — Seven years later (1356) the Black Prince was engaged in pillaging the provinces adjoining Guienne. He was attacked by the force of John the Good, Philip's successor, at Poitiers,[1] in the west of France, south of the Loire, and gained a victory which ranks even before that of Crécy. Here again the English bowmen decided the contest.

The Black Prince, seeing that King John had over forty thousand cavalry — the flower and pride of France — to his little army of eight thousand, determined to intrench himself with care. He accordingly stationed his men on a hill surrounded with hedges. The only approach was up a steep lane so narrow that "four horsemen could barely ride abreast." One half of his archers he stationed at the head of this lane, and the other half back of the hedges on each side of it.

Forward came the French with the oriflamme, or sacred banner, fluttering in front of the king surrounded by his knights. Up that hill they charged. But few, if any, reached the top, for the fatal snowstorm of white arrows from the strong arms of English archers soon choked the narrow passage "with men and horses struggling in the agonies of death." Then the English,

[1] Poitiers (pwah-ty-ay'): see Map No. XII, page 238.

abandoning their protected position, met the enemy on the plain. There the battle raged hand to hand, until in the end King John, finding his bodyguard cut to pieces and his glittering squadrons dispersed or dead, was forced to surrender.

He had vowed before the battle that he would wipe out the shame of Crécy; but as one French historian says, "he had doubled it." Yes, if failure doubled it; but no, if heroism could redeem it, for "those that were there," says Froissart, "behaved themselves so loyally, that their descendants to this day are honored for their sake."

So complete was the victory gained by the Black Prince, that the English found they had twice as many prisoners as they had soldiers. King John and many of the nobility were carried to England, to be held captive there for heavy ransoms.

The defeat at Poitiers filled the French peasants with disgust and discontent. They lost faith in the bravery and the ability of the nobles. An odious tax on salt had been decreed to make them bear the expenses of the war. In addition, they were now expected to pay enormous ransoms to liberate the captive nobles. Jacques Bonhomme,[1] as the French peasant was contemptuously called, was patient and long-suffering, but he could bear no more. He had in fact borne too much.

A rude caricature of that day tells his whole history in seven typical figures. The first is the king, who says, "I levy taxes." Next comes the nobleman, with "I have a free estate." Then the priest, who says, "I take tithes." Then the merchant, with the motto, "I live by my profits." Then the hired soldier, declaring with an oath, "I pay for nothing." Then the beggar, saying, "I have nothing." Last of all, at the bottom of the scale, comes the peasant, saying, "God help me; for I have to support king, nobleman, priest, merchant, soldier, and beggar."

[1] Jacques Bonhomme (zhäk bon-om'): Jacques (James) is the commonest Christian name among the French peasants. "Jacques Bonhomme" — "Jimmy Goodfellow" — was used to insultingly designate the whole laboring class.

So meditating, poor Jacques, with his comrades, now rose in a terrible but futile insurrection, called the Jacquerie,[1] and the provinces of the north and west of France were filled with destruction and carnage.

Étienne[2] Marcel, head of the city government of Paris, took the side of the people. He endeavored to reorganize the States-General[3] so that the taxpayers of France should have their full rightful influence in that body. Nearly a hundred years before, Simon de Montfort had effected the beginning of such a reform in the constitution of the English Parliament; but Marcel failed in his great undertaking, and died by the hand of an assassin.

80. Effect of Gunpowder on War; Treaty of Bretigny. — We do not learn that artillery or firearms of any kind were used at Poitiers; but we may be sure that the cannon which had made themselves heard at Crécy[4] would not long remain silent. Gunpowder had a mission in the world, and it was sure to fulfill it. So long as the bow, the sword, and the spear were the chief weapons of war, the feudal aristocracy had an immense advantage. Intrenched in their massive stone castles, they could securely defy attack; mounted on trained horses and covered with heavy armor, they could ride down multitudes of peasants without fear of successful resistance: but now a change had begun.

Gunpowder was to prove itself the great leveler and equalizer. It fought on the side of the people. When the day came that it could be effectively handled on the battlefield, then the haughty steel-clad warrior knew that his occupation was gone. No castle could hope to withstand artillery. No breastplate was proof against the bullet. Gunpowder made the commonest foot soldier the peer in battle of the proudest lord. It was long in coming into use; but when at last, a

[1] Jacquerie (zhăk-rē′).
[2] Étienne (ā-ty-ĕn′).
[3] See Paragraph 71.
[4] See Paragraph 77.

Western Empire
France
England
House of Austrid
Brandenburg
House of Luzemburg
Savoy
Swiss Confedn.
CENTRAL
EUROPE
1360.
DENMARK
ENGLAND
PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
FRIESLAND
HAMBURG
Bremen
BRANDENBURG
Brandenburg
Utrecht
HOLLAND
WESTFALIA
Magdeburg
LAUSITZ
Paderborn
SAXONY
Calais
Cressy
Bruges
Ghent
FLANDERS
BRABANT
LUXEMBURG
AACHEN
Köln
Lüttich
KINGDOM OF
BOHEMIA
Prag
SILESIA
MORAVIA
Rouen
Laon
Trier
Mainz
Würzburg
Nurnberg
Rheims
LORRAINE
Regensburg
Strassburg
PARIS
Le Mans
BAVARIA
Salzburg
AUSTRIA
Angers
GERMANY
Basel
Zurich
Bourges
D. OF BURGUNDY
Poitiers
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
Bern
Chur
Brixen
CARINTHIA
Geneva
Trent
Lyons
SAVOY
Aosta
Turin
MILAN
Verona
Grenoble
DAUPHINY
Bordeaux
Genoa
Bayonne
Avignon
Orange
PROVENCE
Toulouse
Nismes
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
NAVARRE
Narbonne
Perpignan
ROUSSILLON
SPAIN
Barcelona
CORSICA
ROME
NAPLES
SERVIA
HUNGARY
R. Rhine
R. Danube
R. Loire
R. Garonne
R. Ebro
R. Po
R. Tiber
R. Arno
R. Elbe
R. Oder
R. Weser
R. Seine
R. Somme
R. Meuse
R. Moselle
R. Saone
R. Rhone
R. Aude
R. Tagus
R. Guadiana
R. Guadalquivir
R. Duero
R. Minho
R. Douro
R. Adige
R. Tyber
R. Arno
R. Elbe
R. Oder
R. Weser
R. Seine
R. Somme
R. Meuse
R. Moselle
R. Saone
R. Rhone
R. Aude
R. Tagus
R. Guadiana
R. Guadalquivir
R. Duero
R. Minho
R. Douro
R. Adige
R. Tyber

hundred years or more after Crécy, its power was fully recognized, the coats of mail and emblazoned shields had to be laid aside as useless encumbrances. Hung up as trophies in church and castle, these rust-eaten relics of brave men still remain to testify to that chivalry which, with all its faults, once did the world good service.

In 1360 Edward III accepted propositions for a treaty of peace. At a conference at Brétigny[1] the necessary articles were drawn up. Edward consented to give up his preposterous claim to the French crown[2] on condition that he should be confirmed in his possession of Aquitaine,[3] Calais, and Ponthieu,[4] a province south of it. The important concession was also made that in future Edward was to hold these in his own right as an independent king, and not, as before, as the vassal of the king of France.

It was furthermore stipulated by Edward that the French people should pay three millions of crowns (nearly fifty million dollars, according to the present value of money) as a ransom for the return of King John, then a prisoner in London. The whole of this enormous sum was to be raised by a tax on the peasantry; for, as the nobles said, "the workingman has a broad back; let him bear all the burdens."

81. Renewal of the War; Miserable State of France. — The peace, however, was not of very long duration, and meantime the country was overrun with bands of desperate brigands who plundered and murdered at will, so that the wretched peasants often abandoned their houses and hid themselves in caves and bogs.

King John died in London, and was followed by Charles V. He, with the help of Du Guesclin,[5] "the most famous French

[1] Brétigny (brā-tēn-yē'): near Chartres.

[2] Though the English kings, down to George III, still retained the empty *title* of King of France.

[3] Aquitaine (or Guienne): see Map No. VIII, page 108.

[4] Ponthieu (pŏN-tē-uh'). [5] Du Guesclin (dü gā-klăN').

warrior of that age," succeeded in driving the English out of every part of France except a few towns on the coast. In 1380 he died, and unfortunately for the country, his successor, Charles VI, was a boy of twelve.

The government now fell into the hands of Charles's three uncles, one of whom, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, soon became the most powerful noble in France. He and his successors, who were princes of royal blood, were practically independent kings in their own dominions, and at times they were actually the equals, if not, indeed, the superiors, of the French sovereigns.

Feudalism, once the salvation of France,[1] had now become its scourge. The rapacity and mismanagement of the uncles created insurrection and bloodshed. Charles went mad through a sudden fright. Henceforth the realm was torn by furious factions of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs,[2] both greedy for power. The former represented the party of the king's uncles; the latter, the friends of the queen, whose reputed lover, the Duke of Orléans,[3] had just been murdered by one of the Burgundians. The two parties now involved the country in a general civil war.

82. Henry V invades France; Battle of Agincourt (1415); Treaty of Troyes (1420). — As the struggle grew more and more desperate, each side was ready to make almost any sacrifice to crush the other. Both begged the assistance of Henry V of England. The Burgundians, a northern party, were willing to pledge him the crown if he would destroy their enemies, the Armagnacs. On the other hand, the Armagnacs, a southern party, offered him large portions of French territory if he would wipe the Burgundians out of existence.

Henry believed that he could make his own terms. He demanded the hand of the Princess Catharine in marriage and

[1] See Paragraphs 35 and 39.

[2] Armagnacs (är-män-yäks′): a name derived from the Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the Duke of Orléans.

[3] Orléans (ŏr-lā-ŏN′).

the territory which England had held north of the Loire. He also asserted a claim to the French crown. Such a demand was therefore about equivalent to a request for the entire kingdom of France. The dauphin,[1] with his supporters, the Armagnacs, was not prepared to give up everything, and the result was that Henry declared war and invaded the country. Meantime a hasty peace had been patched up between the king's party and the Burgundians, and the latter stood neutral. Having besieged and taken Harfleur,[2] Henry found his army so reduced by sickness that he resolved to march to Calais, and there go into winter quarters.

At Agincourt,[3] near the coast, between Calais and Crécy, Henry met the French, who immensely outnumbered him. But the English army was protected by a wood, and so fought to the best advantage. Henry furthermore ordered each man to drive a short stake, sharpened at both ends, firmly into the ground in front of him. This substitute for the bayonet, which had not then been invented, proved an admirable defense against the mounted troops of the enemy. As usual, nearly the whole French force was cavalry, and, as the field of battle was a piece of plowed ground soaked with rain, the horses were up to their knees in mud.

The fight began with a blinding shower of English arrows. Then throwing aside their bows, the archers rushed on the enemy with sword and battle-ax. The din of their weapons striking against the armor of the knights sounded, it is said, like blacksmiths hammering anvils. The slaughter of the French was terrible. Henry won a signal victory, and embarked for England with a long train of titled captives.

Two years later he returned and overran Normandy, besieging Rouen, the capital, which fell into his hands. Up to this

[1] Dauphin: the title of the heir to the throne.
[2] Harfleur (ăr-flŭr′): a port on the Channel, near the mouth of the Seine.
[3] Agincourt (ă-zhăN-kōōr′): see Map No. I, page 1.

time the old quarrel between the Burgundians and Armagnacs had continued to rage, the queen being on the side of the first, and her son, the young dauphin, in the hands of the other party.

The loss of Rouen had such an effect that John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, now asked for an interview with the dauphin, with the view of uniting their forces against the English. A meeting was arranged; but just as John bent in homage before the dauphin, he was treacherously struck on the head by one of the dauphin's party and then stabbed. The murder was not only a crime, but a blunder. Its effect was to rouse the whole Burgundian party, including Paris, — in other words, the whole north of France, — in favor of Henry, and against the dauphin and his supporters. Thus, as was then said, "the wounds of John the Fearless were the holes that let in the English."

Shortly after, the important Treaty of Troyes (1420) was signed between Henry V on the one side and the young Duke of Burgundy, son of John the Fearless, with Queen Isabelle, on the other.

By the terms of that treaty, Queen Isabelle virtually disinherited her son Charles, the dauphin, whom she hated, and gave her daughter Catharine to Henry for a wife. Furthermore, it was agreed that on the death of the insane king the crown was to pass to Henry of England and his successors. Thus, with one stroke of the pen, France was surrendered to a foreign power, and the English king gained the French monarch's daughter and his kingdom to boot.

83. Siege of Orléans. — Not long after this shameful treaty was signed, Henry V died, and his son, Henry VI, was crowned king of England; and then, as the insane Charles VI was now dead, he was taken to Paris and, while yet a child, crowned king of France.

Charles VII, though seemingly a person of but little spirit, plucked up courage to refuse to sanction the act by which his

mother had given away his throne. The war of parties was now renewed with greater fierceness than ever, and the English, with their Burgundian allies, resolved to bring Charles to terms. As he had few or no friends in the north, he retreated south of the Loire, and took refuge in the city of Bourges, where he held his court. Henceforth his enemies sneeringly styled him "the King of Bourges." [1]

The English forces pushed on with great energy to Orléans, which commanded the entire valley of the Loire, and was therefore in a military and political point of view a place of great importance. If they succeeded in taking it, Charles would in all probability be driven to retreat to the extreme south of France, where there was little likelihood that he could long hold out.

The English armies encircled the city with forts and batteries; the cannon, hurling huge stone balls, began hammering away at the walls. The place held out bravely, and did good execution with its own guns in return; but it became evident that unless relief was obtained the city must finally fall, and so once more the golden lilies [2] of France would be trodden under the feet of her enemies.

84. Joan of Arc; [3] the English driven out; Beginning of the Modern Kingdom of France. — At that hour, when all seemed darkest, a simple peasant girl — Joan of Arc — came forward, declaring that God had called her to save her despairing country. She was met at first with ridicule; but, nothing daunted, she insisted on her mission. The king gave her an audience; and finally, as all other hope was gone and the people were in her favor, Joan received a horse, a suit of armor, and the privilege of leading several thousand soldiers.

[1] Bourges: near the center of France.

[2] Lilies: the lilies of the arms of France, emblazoned on the royal standard or flag.

[3] Joan of Arc: Jeanne Darc, or Jeanne d'Arc.

Inspired by her example, the French regained their courage. A body of troops under their new captain entered the city of Orléans. In the battles which followed, the English were forced to abandon the siege, and the royal colors soon waved triumphantly over the encircling forts so lately occupied by the insolent foe.

The coronation of Charles VII had not yet taken place; and Joan of Arc, now known as the "Maid of Orléans," insisted that he should go north to Reims, — then the Westminster Abbey of France, — and there be crowned (see page 24). In spite of all opposition offered by the English forces, she succeeded in her purpose, and then declared that her divine work was accomplished.

But she was in error. In order to complete her mission and thoroughly rouse the patriotism of her countrymen, it was necessary that she should suffer the fate so often reserved for heroic souls. The war was not yet over; but Charles, who, unaided by this brave girl, could never have won the crown for himself, now basely abandoned her, as he later abandoned his faithful friend, Jacques Cœur,[1] the merchant prince of Bourges, who lent him large sums of money to carry on the war.

Joan eventually fell into the hands of the English. They, with their Burgundian allies, charged her with witchcraft. She was imprisoned in a dungeon in a tower of the castle of Rouen. There her trial took place. All defense was useless; and in the market place of the city, on a spot now marked by a marble tablet, the Maid of Orléans suffered death by fire (1431). She was purposely placed on a high mass of plaster so that the executioner should not be able to reach her, and mercifully put an end to her sufferings by strangling her, as was usual in such cases.

[1] Jacques Cœur (zhák kur): he lent Charles twenty-four million francs, and the king, as a reward for this generous loyalty, allowed his friend to be robbed and imprisoned.

JOAN OF ARC ENTERING ORLÉANS

As the flames rolled up around the martyr, she lifted her eyes to heaven, crying out, so that all might hear, that her celestial voices had not deceived her, and that she had saved her ungrateful country. Even the hardened English soldiers were touched, and one of the leaders exclaimed, "We are lost; we have burned a saint." [1]

It was indeed true that the English were lost; for from the ashes of the martyred girl there seemed to rise a new spirit. France, as if moved by a common impulse, now massed her whole force against the foreign foe, and in the course of the next twenty years drove them out of the land and across the sea. Aquitaine was conquered and annexed, and from this union of southern and northern Gaul the modern kingdom of France began.

Such was one great result of the Hundred Years' War. Of all that the kings of England had held or gained, nothing was left them save the district and walled city of Calais, on the British Channel, and even that slender foothold on French territory they were destined to lose a few generations later.[2]

85. Results of the Hundred Years' War; Creation of a Standing Army. — Though terribly weakened and impoverished by this century of strife, France issued from it, in some respects, stronger than before. The common peril and common suffering had tended to unite the people. Men who before the war thought only of the particular city to which they belonged, now felt that as Frenchmen they all had an interest in their native land. Thus the word France came to have a new and sacred meaning to them.

[1] Twenty-four years after she was burned, Pope Calixtus ordered the trial to be reconsidered. The result of an exhaustive examination was that Joan of Arc's conviction was annulled and declared to be both "wicked and unjust." See Murray's Documentary History of Jeanne D'Arc. To-day the market women of Rouen keep the spot in the great square where she was executed bright with wreaths of flowers and evergreens in memory of the noble Maid of Orléans who gave her life for France.

[2] Calais was captured by the French, 1558.

Moreover, the king, who seemed to have acquired a manhood that made up in some degree for his lack of it in the past, now established a power which compelled all parties to respect his will. This new power was a standing army, organized in great measure out of bands of mercenaries, brigands, and tramps, who during the civil wars and the struggle with England had pillaged the country.

To support this army Charles levied a permanent tax on the land of the middle classes. As the king now had a regular force of his own, he was no longer obliged to depend so entirely on the feudal lords. The result was that the latter became less and less warlike, for want of practice, and hence less and less able to resist the constantly increasing power of the crown.

86. Summary. — This period, embracing nearly two hundred years, was, as we have seen, productive of great events and great changes. The battle of Courtrai, the papal quarrel, and the establishment of the States-General, the suppression of the Knights Templars and the confiscation of their estates, all tended directly or indirectly to strengthen the king against the nobles or the Church.

The civil war and the Hundred Years' War reduced the royal authority for a time to its lowest ebb; but the reaction begun by Joan of Arc made France realize her nationality as never before. Finally, the triumphant close of the war and the organization of a standing army restored the power of the crown and greatly enhanced it.

The general results may be summed up as follows: France is more united; the nobles are less independent of restraint; the real strength of the country is becoming more centralized in the person of the king.[1]

[1] Meanwhile Switzerland had appeared on the map of Europe. The western portion was formed from what once had been part of Gaul; the eastern portion was contributed by Germany.

SECTION IX

This was a period of decay and of new birth — a time for reforming itself and setting itself in order. — GUIZOT.

With the Italian wars, the discovery of America, and the Reformation, the modern history of Europe begins. — LAVALLÉE.

LOUIS XI — CONSOLIDATION OF FRANCE — THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING — FRANCIS I — WARS FOR THE BALANCE OF POWER — FRANCE AND THE NEW WORLD — BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION. 1461–1559

LOUIS XI, 1461–1483. LOUIS XII, 1498–1515.
CHARLES VIII, 1483–1498. FRANCIS I, 1515–1547.
HENRY II, 1547–1559.

87. Power of the Duke of Burgundy; League of the Public Good. — The reign of Louis XI began with a struggle on the part of the nobles to regain the power they had lost, or were beginning to lose, during the latter part of the rule of Charles VII. Philip, Duke of Burgundy, pretended to be the friend of Louis, but in reality he was his most dangerous rival. Philip's domains not only embraced a large territory of the best land in France, but through inheritance or purchase he had come into possession of the greater part of the Netherlands, including the rich and prosperous cities of Ghent,[1] Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp.

In point of splendor, wealth, and power, no prince in Europe could compare with him. Philip, with a magnificent retinue

[1] Ghent (gĕnt).

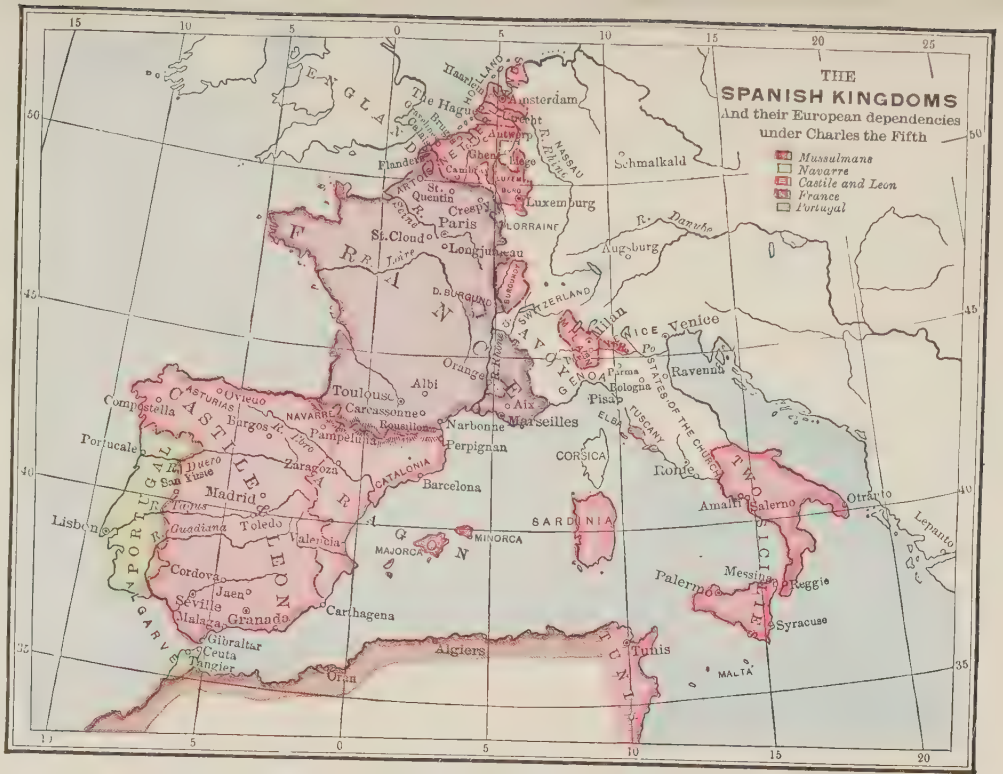
of knights and noblemen as a guard of honor deigned with lofty condescension to escort Louis to his coronation at Reims. In the midst of this imposing pageant the French king made but a sorry figure compared with the duke, who seemed the more royal of the two; but Philip soon found that the young man whom he so arrogantly patronized was abundantly able to take care of himself.

Louis, however, made two serious mistakes at the outset. He dismissed the ablest statesmen of the preceding reign, and he endeavored besides to strengthen his position too rapidly. In doing this he alienated the nobles by reviving old and obsolete claims of the crown to certain feudal dues; he offended the clergy by restricting their privileges and requiring a strict account of their possessions; finally, he disgusted the citizens of the towns by a sudden increase of taxes for the support of his standing army.

The result of this discontent was the formation of a league against the king, called the League of the Public Good. In an attempt to crush this league Louis was completely defeated. That defeat was the most fortunate thing that could have happened to him. It taught him where his real strength lay. Henceforth he fought his enemies not by force of arms, but by craft.

He fairly earned the name he afterward received, of "the universal spider"; for certainly no spider ever wove more subtle webs or caught more victims. He fomented jealousies and quarrels which dissolved the league. Then he dealt with the chief men individually. He bought the loyalty of one, he coaxed that of another, he locked up a third in an iron cage, like a wild beast, and kept him there till his rebellious heart was broken.

88. **Louis XI; Charles the Bold.** — Meanwhile Charles the Bold had succeeded to the dukedom — we might almost say the kingdom — of Burgundy. Strong, rich, and feared as the


THE
SPANISH KINGDOMS
And their European dependencies
under Charles the Fifth
Mussulmans
Navarre
Castile and Leon
France
Portugal
ENGLAND
The Hague
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Flanders
Schmalkald
Luxemburg
Paris
St. Cloud
Longjumeau
Augsburg
Danube
FRANCE
D. BURGUNDY
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Venice
GENOA
Parma
Bologna
Ravenna
Pisa
Orange
Albi
Toulouse
Marseilles
Aix
Narbonne
Perpignan
CORSICA
Rome
Amalfi
Salerno
Otranto
Lepanto
Carcassonne
Rousillon
Pampeluna
NAVARRE
ASTURIAS
Oviedo
Compostella
Burgos
Portucale
Duero
Zaragoza
CATALONIA
Barcelona
Madrid
Tagus
Toledo
Guadiana
Lisbon
Valentia
SARDINIA
MINORCA
MAJORCA
Cordova
Jaen
Seville
Malaga
Granada
Carthagena
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
Algiers
Oran
Tunis
MALTA
Palermo
Messina
Reggio
Syracuse

duke was, he yet had a weak point in his armor. His territory was not geographically united. Between Burgundy on the southeast and the Netherlands on the northwest, there was a wedge of the royal domains of France.[1] Charles wanted to make that triangular piece of property of Louis' his own; then, instead of being a wedge to split his power apart, it would serve like the keystone of an arch to bind it together. When that was accomplished he would take another step and erect his possessions into a new realm, occupying geographically a middle place between France and Germany, but in wealth and power greater than either.

With patience the Duke of Burgundy might have accomplished this; but patience was not one of his virtues. He was by nature what his name, or rather nickname, styled him, — Charles the Bold or the Rash. To accomplish his ends, he invited his brother-in-law, Edward IV of England, to aid him in his attack on France. Edward readily agreed, for there was prospect of both glory and pillage in such an expedition. There was besides the possibility of the entire conquest of France, in which case he and Charles agreed to divide the country between them. Edward landed with a large force at Calais, that convenient threshold on French territory still retained by the English,[2] but was disappointed in not meeting the Duke of Burgundy with his army.

The duke came, indeed, but only to say that the plan of campaign must be changed. Edward met with some further disappointments, and then the wily Louis managed the rest. He had already bought over a number of the leading English nobles; he now proceeded to buy over King Edward himself. A conference of the two sovereigns was decided on; but as neither would trust the other, the meeting was arranged to take

[1] Map No. IX. page 118, shows the situation of Burgundy, France, and the Netherlands, at this time as well as later.

[2] See Paragraph 84.

place at Pecquigny,[1] on the middle of a bridge over the Somme,[2] with a wooden grating for a barrier. Through this grating the monarchs affectionately kissed each other, and Louis' smooth tongue, bags of gold, and promise of his son as husband for the sister of the Prince of Wales, sent Edward back to England well pleased with his expedition. But it all came to nothing. The duke now found it expedient to postpone his assumption of the crown of Burgundy.

89. The Method of Louis XI contrasted with that of Charles. In this instance we have an illustration of the beginning of that new system of government which may be said to have originated with Louis. Charles the Bold represented the old feudal method. He tried to gain his ends openly, by force of arms. Louis, on the contrary, sought to attain his by cunning and stratagem. Charles would beat down his enemy by sheer power of muscle; Louis would outwit and entrap him.

There is nothing attractive, nothing noble, in the course pursued by the French king; there is, in fact, something revolting about it. It is the method of the serpent as contrasted with that of the lion. Yet in one way it was an advance: it saved life, and procured what the country then most needed for its welfare, — peace. Hence we may say that, in so far as Louis avoided war and used diplomacy instead, his course marked the beginning of a higher conception of government than that which characterized the Middle Ages,[3] and which was based mainly on brute force.

[1] Pecquigny (pĕk-keen-yĭ'): near Amiens.

[2] Somme (sŏmm): a river in the north of France. It empties into the English Channel.

[3] The Middle Ages, or that period which followed the fall of Rome in 476, may be considered to end at this time: that is, about the middle of the fifteenth century or from the fall of Constantinople in 1453. As the revival of learning, the discovery of America, and the beginning of a strong monarchical form of government, in place of the old feudal system, all date from this time or a little later, they mark, according to the majority of authorities, the commencement of a new period, — that of modern history.

LOUIS XI

90. Consolidation of France. — Louis was not satisfied with introducing a new system of government, and with extending the royal power; he wished to consolidate all the provinces of France into one great realm. The Capetian kings had labored to bind the country together by feudal ties. If they could compel each dukedom or county to acknowledge and maintain the crown, they were content; since, as we have seen, the great struggle during the whole Capetian period was to reduce the turbulent and insubordinate nobles to some recognition of a central ruling power.

But the kings of the house of Valois,[1] so ably represented by Louis XI and his successors, were resolved to accomplish far more than this. Their object was to break down the feudal system entirely and permanently. It was not enough for them to rule over a kingdom made up of an aggregation of provinces, each of which owed, first, allegiance to some powerful duke or count, and next such support to the sovereign as it found it convenient to give, or he might be able to compel. On the contrary, Louis, for one, was determined to render the whole of France obedient to himself as absolute monarch.

Many things favored such an undertaking. The power of the feudal nobles had, with some exceptions, been diminishing; while the king, on the other hand, through his standing army, supported by a fixed revenue, was becoming more and more master of the situation. Charles the Bold continued to thwart any such consolidation so far as he could prevent it; but Louis was patient. The duke had got into difficulty about the Archbishop of Cologne, which suited Louis exactly. "Let the duke go," said he, "and knock his head against Germany."

While he waited, Louis spun his web of wiles, and did not spin in vain. The duke was planning to unite Alsace,[2]

[1] House of Valois (väl-wä′): beginning with Philip of Valois. See table, Paragraph 76.

[2] Alsace (äl-säs′) and Lorraine: provinces of Germany lying east of northern France. Charles the Bold held the first by mortgage and the second by

Lorraine, Switzerland, and Provence to his own states. Alsace became enraged at the cruelty of the governors imposed upon it by the duke, and rose in insurrection. Louis secretly stirred up the Bernese Swiss to aid them. Then Lorraine followed the example of Alsace. The duke besieged Nancy, its capital; the Swiss came to its relief, and a battle was fought in which Charles was killed.

The great duke left no son to succeed him, and so, by feudal law, his province of Burgundy fell to Louis, who next received Provence by bequest. He now planned to get possession of the late duke's domains in the Netherlands, which Charles's daughter, Mary of Burgundy, had inherited: but she married Maximilian of Austria, and so added the Netherlands to the house of Austria, from which they soon passed to Spain. Still, Louis had so far succeeded that he had now practically got the greater part of France under his direct control. After his death, his son and successor, Charles VIII, completed the work by marrying Anne of Brittany, so bringing that important province into the circle of the crown domains.

With its addition France became, geographically and politically, a united kingdom. A glance at the map opposite will show better than any description how royal power had grown since the days of Hugh Capet's humble beginnings in the tenth century. Still, we must remember that, though nominally one, the country was nevertheless made up of provinces having widely different laws and customs.

Though Louis XI did not accomplish the entire consolidation, yet he brought about by far the greater part of it. During the last of his reign we have the spectacle of the royal power of will of a feeble, paralyzed old man, whose body was already half dead, but whose scheming brain was fully alive to every opportunity and equal to every emergency. He fought

force. Eventually both provinces were annexed to France, but were annexed (in great part) by Germany in 1870, after the Franco-Prussian War.

Map showing the Growth of France from the Close of the Tenth Century to the Close of the Fifteenth

The shaded portion shows the part of France directly ruled by Hugh Capet. The dates mark the time when the great provinces or dukedoms — *e.g.*, Aquitaine, etc. — became possessions of the crown.

his battles in his head, and so rendered battles on the field in great measure unnecessary. By the bloodless victories he won, he made the French monarchy, temporarily at least, the foremost power on the continent of Europe.

91. The "New Learning." — But while Louis was building up the kingdom of France, other events were occurring which were destined to have an immense influence on the future of every civilized country. In 1453 the Turks took Constantinople, the capital of the Greek or Eastern Empire.[1] The result was that many learned Greeks fled to Italy, France, and other countries, carrying with them precious manuscripts in which were preserved the masterpieces of the great classical authors of antiquity. The desire to become acquainted with these works was already awakened, and the students of the University of Paris, like those of Oxford and Cambridge, eagerly welcomed men who brought to them the writings of Homer, Plato, and Aristotle in the original.

The study of Greek, or the "New Learning," as it was called, was to that age what the study of the natural sciences is to ours. So great was the enthusiasm that men of wealth were willing to pay any price for a manuscript of one of the philosophers or poets whose words had instructed and delighted the world. Others were ready to devote years of patient toil to translating and copying these manuscripts, both for their own use and for that limited number who could afford to purchase them.

92. Invention of Printing. — At the very period when this interest in the classics was at its height, means were discovered by which these books, which had been slowly and laboriously transcribed with the pen, might be rapidly multiplied at far

[1] The Roman emperor, Constantine, had established his capital, in the fourth century, on the Bosporus, and named it, from himself, Constantinople. After the fall of Rome or the Western Empire, the Eastern or Greek Empire, with Constantinople as its metropolis, continued to exist until besieged and taken by the Turks in 1453.

less cost. After many fruitless experiments, a German, John Gutenberg[1] of Mentz, succeeded in making movable wooden types, which were later cast in metal. He was far from realizing the true significance of his invention, but none the less he had found in these little blocks, each representing a letter of the alphabet, the most effective of all agents for advancing civilization, and also, it must be confessed, sometimes the surest means of demoralizing it.

In 1469 three of Gutenberg's pupils came to Paris, and, with the king's permission and encouragement, set up presses in the college of the Sorbonne.[2] But the populace regarded their marvelous work with suspicion, believing it to be the result of magic. They looked askance on the uniformly printed sheets, so unlike manuscript in their perfect regularity. They whispered that it must be the black art, and that the devil certainly had a hand in it.

Stirred by this conviction, they would speedily have burned the unfortunate printers as sorcerers, had not Louis XI interfered. Later the clergy, fearing, perhaps with good reason, that the multiplication and circulation of books would spread heresy, — for independence of thought and free inquiry were even then beginning to make their power felt,[3] — obtained a royal order restricting the whole number of printers in the realm to twelve. These were chosen by the king. Any one else venturing to set up a press was to be hanged. Thus did Church and Crown combine in the vain attempt to fetter the limbs of that young giant destined one day, for good or ill, to prove himself superior to both.[4]

[1] Gutenberg (goo′tĕn-bĕrg).

[2] Sorbonne (sôr-bŏnn′).

[3] One indication of this resistance to authority was the French Pragmatic Sanction (solemn ordinance or decree), which in 1268, and again with greater emphasis in 1438, set a limit to the spiritual power of the pope over the French clergy. The principle was destined to be reasserted still more explicitly by Bossuet in his Four Propositions, in the reign of Louis XIV. See page 204, note 1.

[4] See Walter Scott's Quentin Durward, Chapter XIII.

93. End of the Reign of Louis XI. — To Louis XI is due the credit of having done much to encourage trade and commerce, by endeavoring to secure a uniform system of weights and measures, in which, however, he was but partially successful. He also established that most useful and important institution, the post office, though it was then employed for government purposes only.

Philip de Comines,[1] the king's trusted counselor and the able historian of the period, says of him, "If a prince knows good from evil, it is by the special favor of God, and particularly if, as in the king my master's case, the good carries the day." That is the cautious and complimentary language in which the courtier apologizes for the crooked policy of the crown. Louis himself, crafty and successful, has bequeathed the secret of his policy in his favorite maxim, "He who does not know how to dissimulate, does not know how to govern." Many a modern politician, both in France and out of it, who has not been able to imitate Louis in anything else, has at least made this royal maxim entirely his own.

94. Charles VIII; Revolt of the Nobles; the Tiers État; Foreign War. — Louis left a son, Charles VIII, who carried a brave heart in a puny body. The nobles, anxious to regain the power they had lost under his father, rose against the king in a war which they managed so badly, and which terminated so disastrously for them, that it received the name of the "Foolish War."

Meantime a new class began to get possession of political influence. In the first States-General or national assembly[2] of 1302 the inhabitants of the towns, but not the country people or peasantry, had obtained representation. These now obtained the privilege of choosing deputies (1484). Henceforth the peasantry and the citizens will unite in what will

[1] de Comines (dẹh kŏ-meen′).
[2] See Paragraph 71.

be known as the Tiers État,[1] or Third Estate or Class, — a name which three hundred years later will occupy the most conspicuous place in the history of the Revolution.

Charles, not satisfied with ruling at home, endeavored to conquer an additional realm in Italy. He began a war which was not to be concluded until nearly half a century after his death. He got himself crowned king of Naples, to which title he next added the empty ones of King of Jerusalem and Emperor of the East. Shortly after, he returned to France, where his death brought his cousin Louis XII to the throne. The expedition of Charles VIII to Italy amounted to nothing in itself, but it is important to note it, since it marks the beginning of those French wars for foreign conquest which were in the end to have far-reaching results.

95. Reign of Louis XII; Loss of Italy. — The chief quality of Louis XII was his good nature. He reduced the taxes, and so endeared himself to the nation that it somewhat rashly decreed him the title of "Father of the People"; his subsequent Italian wars proved that he was a "father" who spent his people's money and life with fearful prodigality. Louis conquered Lombardy, but in the end a Holy League was formed by the pope, the emperor of Germany, the king of Spain, and Henry VIII of England, all of whom dreaded to have France gain more power. Together their force drove the French out of Italy.

The campaign, however, was not wholly lost, for Louis and his companions were so inspired by the palaces and works of art of Milan, Florence, and Rome that they began many magnificent buildings, in the new or Renaissance order of architecture, some of which, such as the Hôtel de Cluny[2] in Paris, still survive to mark the age.

[1] Tiers État (tyâr-zā-tā'): the nobility, with the king and clergy, constituted the First and the Second Estates; the Third was the common people.

[2] Hôtel de Cluny: the name *hôtel* is often given in France to the palace or mansion of a person of rank or wealth. The Hôtel de Cluny is now a

96. Francis I; Further Development of the French Nation. — In 1515 Francis I. came to the throne. Guizot[1] says of him that he "had received from God all the gifts that can adorn a man. He was handsome, tall, and strong, and his mind was equal to his body." He ruled over a country extending from the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees to the English Channel and the southern borders of the Netherlands.

It was a country, too, no longer made up, as in the past, of feudal provinces which had little sympathy with each other, which spoke widely different dialects, and which were often bitterly hostile. On the contrary, this great realm, now geographically united, was tending more and more to become one in every other respect. The royal power practically extended over the whole of it.

Hitherto the laws had been recorded in Latin, because there had been no grammatically formed national language; now they were recorded in French, which was also, as we shall presently see, about to become the language of literature. Formerly the great body of the inhabitants had no political rights, and nothing in common; now they were represented in the national assembly.[2]

However imperfect that representation might be, it was nevertheless a decided step forward. It showed that the kingdom was no longer made up of two or three privileged classes who monopolized everything. It meant that at length the PEOPLE had come into existence, and from this period France was to continue developing that unity of interest and of purpose so essential to true national life. Thus two great steps had been taken: first, the discordant baronies had coalesced into a kingdom; secondly, this kingdom was now becoming a commonwealth.

famous museum. It was originally built in the fourteenth century, but was entirely rebuilt in the reign of Louis XII. It is late Gothic, but has some Renaissance features.

[1] Guizot (gē-zo′ or gwe-zo′).

[2] See Paragraph 94.

97. Campaign in Italy. — Francis was ambitious to use this national power to get back the possessions which Louis XII had gained and then lost in Italy. He was successful in his campaign, and Milan with Lombardy acknowledged him as conqueror. One important result of this conquest was the establishment of a "perpetual peace" with the Swiss, who had hitherto sold their military services to the Italians.

A second result not less important was a concordat[1] or treaty with the pope, which made the clergy of France dependent on the king, who now claimed and obtained the right of disposing of the great offices in the Church. On the other hand, the pope's spiritual power over the clergy was increased, and it was agreed that in future his authority in all matters of doctrine should be held superior to that of the church councils.

Francis, like his predecessor, Louis, brought back from Italy new conceptions of art and of architecture. He purchased paintings by Raphael, and statuary by Michael Angelo, to adorn the magnificent palaces of the Louvre[2] and of Fontainebleau,[3] which he now began to build or to enlarge. These splendid edifices, with many others, were of that classical or Italian architectural order called the Renaissance,[4] already mentioned, and which now took the place of the Gothic. It was another evidence that the Middle Ages were passed, and that a new spirit of life was everywhere seeking expression in the growth of literature and art as well as of nationality.

98. Formation of a Royal Court. — Another great change introduced by Francis I. was the formation of the court. When the feudal system was at its height, each baron lived

[1] Concordat (kŏn-kôr′dăt).

[2] Louvre (loovr).

[3] Fontainebleau (fôN-tăn-blō′).

[4] Renaissance: the new birth or new period. The classical or Italian style of architecture, which now superseded the Gothic, was a revival in modified form of the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome. St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's, London, and the Panthéon of Paris are fine examples of Renaissance style. So, too, in some degree, is the Hôtel de Cluny, mentioned in Paragraph 95.

apart from every other, and from the king, shut up in the gloomy isolation of his castle, which was rather a fortress than a home. There he ruled supreme. He made war, coined money, declared and executed the law.

Now all this was changed. The nobles had lost their power, and the king had gained it. He was therefore the center of influence. So Francis gathered round himself, in his palaces at Fontainebleau, Chambord, or Paris, a retinue of barons and bishops, whose chief object henceforth was to secure the royal favor. The barons' wives and daughters accompanied them; for the king declared that "a court without ladies is like a spring without flowers."

Refinement, luxury, and dissipation now became the fashion. The time was passed in balls, tournaments, hunting parties, and gaming. Men of letters, minstrels, and artists contributed their part, and life put on a different color from the monotonous and somber hue it had worn in sterner and more perilous days.

Most important of all, the nobles gradually lost much of their former independence of character. They bowed more and more to the king's will, and thus the effect of the formation of the court was to steadily increase that royal power which was all the while tending to become absolute.

The old danger had been want of unity; the new was the excessive concentration of authority in the hands of a single person. If monarchy had not grown to be supreme, France would have remained a weak bundle of mutually discordant and belligerent states. If, on the other hand, it was not restrained, monarchy must eventually end in despotism. In England, Parliament, and especially the House of Commons, applied that check, but in France that salutary power had little practical influence. The king, instead of convening the States-General,[1] now summoned a select body of men called

[1] See Paragraphs 71 and 94.

the Notables, who were chosen by himself; and henceforth we shall see the government of the two countries diverge more and more, — one toward larger political liberty, the other toward its gradual extinction.

99. Francis I. and Charles V. — France was now the first power in Europe; but the country was soon to be obliged to enter the field against a rival who would be content with no second place. Shortly after the accession of Francis I., Charles V[1] ascended the throne of Spain. He was ruler not only over that realm, but over the Netherlands, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. Among his possessions he included also those immense regions of unexplored wealth in the New World which Columbus had gained for his ancestors, Ferdinand and Isabella.

Later, the death of his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, added Austria to his dominions. Then, when Maximilian's death left the throne of the German empire vacant, the princes of Germany met to choose a new imperial sovereign. Three candidates presented themselves, — Henry VIII of England, Charles V of Spain, and the young king of France. The choice fell on Charles, who thus became ruler of nearly all civilized Europe outside of France and the British Isles.

Since the time of Charlemagne and the Cæsars no sovereign had been able to gain control of such an immense territory as that which the Emperor Charles V now possessed. Francis I. felt that so formidable a neighbor was a constant menace to himself and his people. Placed as his kingdom was between the armies of Germany and Spain, both of whom obeyed one directing and absolute will, France was like the wheat between the upper and the nether millstones, which a single energetic movement might suffice to crush. One look at the map will show the position and the danger.[2]

[1] Mary of Burgundy (see Paragraph 90) had married Maximilian, Archduke of Austria. Their son Philip married the heiress of the Spanish provinces of Castile and Aragon. Charles V was Philip's son. [2] See Map No. IX, page 118.

100. War for the "Balance of Power"; Death of the Chevalier Bayard; Defeat of Francis I. — The policy of Francis was to offset this danger by attacking his rival's Italian possessions. A war, which began in 1521, was the commencement of the great struggle for the maintenance of the "balance of power"; or, in other words, for preventing any one sovereign from getting a controlling influence in Europe. It was a contest which was not to be finished; for in one form or another this strife, springing from political jealousy, has ever since engaged the utmost efforts of the chief European rulers.

Were it not for this mutual dread lest one nation should become greater than the rest, there would be no reason for keeping up the enormous standing armies of the present day. The burden of taxation and debt which these armies and their wars have imposed has kept on increasing. It is a common saying in Europe that every workingman carries a soldier on his back. Should the army expenses continue to increase, the time must come when the people will have to choose between one of two alternatives — "disarm or starve." [1]

Francis I. gained neither glory nor dominions by his Italian wars. On the contrary, he lost the Chevalier Bayard, that knight "without fear and without reproach," who, as the king said, was in himself alone worth a regiment. He also lost the Duke of Bourbon by desertion. The latter found Bayard dying on the battlefield, with his face turned toward the enemy. The duke expressed his sorrow at seeing him in that condition. "Do not pity me," replied Bayard, "since I die as a man should; but rather pity yourself, you who are fighting against both your king and your country."

Later, Francis himself was taken prisoner, carried to Madrid, and had to give up not only his possessions in Italy, but even

[1] See Professor Atkinson's Strength of Nations. France has by far the largest national debt of any country of Europe. In 1902 it amounted, in round numbers, to over thirty billion francs.

the dukedom of Burgundy. When he gained his liberty, however, he resumed the wars. Leagues were formed, in which Henry VIII of England and the pope joined Francis. Again Francis was defeated. Then another and still stronger league was formed, in which Henry VIII changed about and took sides with Charles V, while not only the Protestant princes of Germany, but even the sultan of Turkey, gave their support to Francis. It was the first instance in which a Christian sovereign had allied himself in arms with a Mohammedan. Francis excused himself for this singular compact by saying, "When the wolves attack the flock, one has a right to call the dogs to help him."

But it was all to no purpose, and, as Comines says, "The French left no memorials of themselves in Italy but their graves." At last, in 1544, after many years of fighting, peace was made. By a previous treaty Francis had got back Burgundy; but Charles refused to give him so much as a foot of Italian soil, and so the German emperor kept that preponderance of power which vexed the soul of the French king during the brief remainder of his life.

101. Francis I. and the New World. — Though thus ardently engaged in war, Francis I found time and means to take part in the great maritime expeditions which characterized the age. Columbus had crossed "The Sea of Darkness," and found its opposite side. Spain and Portugal claimed possession of the New World by right of discovery, but Francis was fully determined to have his share in the rich prize.

"Show me," said he to the kings of those countries, "the clause in the will of Father Adam which divides America between you, and excludes the French." As the claimants found it inconvenient to produce the document, Francis continued, in spite of all remonstrance, to send out explorers in the wake of those hardy French fishermen, who brought back cargoes of Newfoundland codfish, and who named Cape Breton from their own native province of Brittany.

According to some accounts Francis sent out Verrazano,[1] a Florentine, in 1524. He, it is said, explored the coast from what is now the harbor of New York to the Carolinas, and called the country New France.

Ten years later Cartier[2] ascended that noble river to which he gave the name of St. Lawrence, and reaching a little Indian village on its banks, he called the lofty hill which rose above it Montreal[3] and the country Canada.[4]

Such was the beginning of those French discoveries in America which in the course of the next century led to temporary settlements in the Carolinas and Florida by Ribaut[5] and to permanent colonies in Nova Scotia and Canada by De Monts[6] and Champlain.

102. Results of the Discovery and Exploration of America. — The results of these expeditions cannot be overestimated. No one then realized their true significance, but, as the historian Voltaire said at a later period, "The discovery of America is the greatest event that has ever taken place in this world of ours, one half of which knew nothing of the other half."

Before this time, commerce had been confined almost wholly to the Mediterranean. There, little vessels not larger than pleasure yachts crept cautiously from port to port with their small cargoes.

Now all was changed. Large and strong ships, fit to battle with Atlantic gales, were built, and ocean navigation began. New ports were opened, new cities rose, and the trade of Europe took its first real step toward encircling the globe.

The enormous increase in the precious metals brought by Spain from Mexico and Peru had far-reaching political effects.

1 Verrazano (vĕr-rä-tsä′no): historians are not agreed in regard to the genuineness of Verrazano's reports.

2 Cartier (kar-tyā′).

3 Montreal: Royal Mountain.

4 Canada: the meaning of the word is uncertain.

5 Ribaut (re-bō′).

6 De Monts (dẹh mŏN).

During a great part of the Middle Ages there had been a chronic dearth of gold and silver coin. The kings of France and of other countries had been driven to extremities to get means to pay their armies. They had robbed the Jews, issued bad money, and hired alchemists to try to transmute lead into gold. Henceforth there would be no excuse for these devices, since there was now coin enough to meet all legitimate needs.

Such were some of the material effects of the discoveries that had been made. But these were not all. The extension of geographical knowledge enlarged the boundaries of thought. The voyage to America was like a journey to another planet. New races, new animals, new plants, new products, and new fields of enterprise came into view. The accounts brought back set all Europe in a ferment; soon thousands were eagerly inquiring and debating about the realities and possibilities of that strange world which lay beyond the seas. The Church, too, took part in the discussion, and theologians asked each other whether the Indians were descendants of Adam, and whether Christ died for their salvation.

103. The Reformation: Luther; Calvin; Religious Intolerance. — These inquiries naturally connected themselves with that great movement known as the Reformation, which had already made marked progress. The translation, printing, and circulation of the Bible led to the renewed study of religious questions. Among those who were thus moved to make a reëxamination of the grounds of their religious faith was Martin Luther, a German monk. He became involved in a violent controversy respecting questions of ecclesiastical discipline and doctrine, which finally led to his denial of the supreme power of the pope.

Later, he published a work entitled the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church of God," in which he boldly maintained that the Church had fallen into bondage to the pope, as the Jews once had to the king of Babylon, and that his mission was

to deliver her from this slavery. Up to this time, and even somewhat later, Luther's object was not separation from the Church, but reform within it. Finding this, as he believed, impracticable, he eventually took an independent stand, and attacked the Catholic authority and belief with all his might, and with a coarseness characteristic of the age.

The Elector of Saxony, the most powerful of the German princes, had long been irritated by the heavy drain of money from his province to meet the demands of Rome. He, with other influential men, took Luther's side either openly or secretly, and as a result the German emperor was obliged to grant the Lutheran party freedom of worship in certain provinces until a general church council should be called to settle matters. A few years later the emperor, Charles V, forbade the further exercise of the privilege. In 1529 the Lutheran party protested against the prohibition, denouncing it as an attempt to tyrannize over conscience. This protest gained for them the name of Protestants, henceforth destined to fill so large a place in the world's history.

The emperor, alarmed at the attitude of the Lutherans or Protestants, was determined to root out a belief that seemed to him a dangerous heresy, which, if not speedily checked, threatened to split not only the Church, but the empire, into hostile factions. Germany was at best but a loose bundle of states, and Charles saw that if these were to be separated by different political and religious parties, his rule would be practically over. His efforts at stamping out the new faith and new thought were, however, unsuccessful. In spite of all he could do, Protestantism continued to grow and spread throughout the greater part of northwest Europe.[1]

In Italy, Spain, and throughout the south Catholicism fully maintained its authority, and heretics expiated their boldness with their lives.

[1] See Stubbs's Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History, page 233.

In central Europe, especially in France, the population was divided, and ultimately both sides were engaged in a long and desperate struggle, not only to support their respective churches, but for the possession of political power besides. The fact that France, unlike Germany, was now under the government of one supreme authority, made this battle of Catholics and Protestants all the more terrible. Each side was determined to get possession of the crown, and there could be no prospect of a compromise, as there might have been at an earlier period when the country was virtually in the hands of the great barons.

In France the chief leader of the party of the Reformation was John Calvin. He was a profound thinker and acute logician. He soon became the very Protestant of the Protestants, going far beyond Luther in his departure from the usages and teachings of the Catholics. Politically, his tendencies were decidedly toward republicanism.

He speedily found that neither his life nor his liberty was safe in France, and he accordingly fled to Bâle, a city in one of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. Here, shutting himself up with the Bible as his sole companion, he proceeded to draw up the first clear and consistent statement of the chief doctrines of the Reformation. These he embodied in a famous work, entitled the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which he dedicated, in an eloquent introduction, to Francis I.

Meanwhile Francis pursued a double policy. He encouraged the German Protestants in order to divide that empire and so harass and weaken his enemy, Charles V. At home he showed no such friendliness to the reformers, but, on the contrary, vied with Charles in his efforts to crush them. Roughly speaking, the power of the French Calvinists was mainly south of the Loire, while Paris and the north were strongly Catholic.

The course taken by Francis was not inconsistent with the ideas of the age, for religious toleration was then practically

unknown, and the king's motives were mainly, if not wholly, political. Even after the progress of the Reformation had familiarized Europe with the spectacle of two churches and two creeds, it was still the belief of the most enlightened statesmen that no subject had any right to profess a different religion from that of his sovereign.

In every country, whether Protestant or Catholic, Church and State were considered to be indissolubly united, so that to call a man a heretic was only another way of calling him a rebel or a traitor. If in the south Catholics persecuted Lutherans, in the north, though in a different degree, Lutherans persecuted Catholics, and ended by persecuting their fellow-Protestants if they followed a different leader.

France, as we have already seen, was at this period just emerging from feudal anarchy into monarchical and national unity, and the king hated the Protestants as men who dared to think for themselves. What he wanted was absolute uniformity of faith and obedience to authority.

In England, upwards of a hundred years later, the Stuart kings had precisely the same feeling. They persecuted Puritanism because they feared that, if allowed to go on unchecked, it would lead to the overthrow of the established church and the established government.

For these reasons Francis I. refused the French Protestants liberty of worship. Meanwhile Calvin had established himself in the free Swiss city of Geneva; thence he disseminated his writings and doctrines in all directions. Calvin had no more idea of tolerating the religious liberty that we enjoy to-day than Francis I. had. The king tortured and burned those who rejected Catholicism. In the same spirit, believing they were doing God's will, the stern Protestant authorities who ruled Geneva sent Michael Servetus to the stake for denying the doctrine of the Trinity, an example which was followed in England many years later.

104. Massacre of the Vaudois. — The persecution under Francis I. varied in intensity, and was occasionally suspended for political reasons; but in the last part of his reign the king renewed his punishment of the Calvinists and other Protestants with terrible severity.

This persecution reached its height in the massacre of the Vaudois,[1] an inoffensive people of the southeast of France. They were Protestants, but not strict followers of Calvin. In the eyes of the Catholic Church they were heretics. The fact that they were neither political agitators nor noisy reformers, but loyal subjects, living pure and simple lives, did not avail to save them.

The king, who was prematurely old and morose, feared lest he had offended Heaven by being too lenient toward unbelievers. He now determined to offer up the Vaudois as a sacrifice for his lack of zeal.

He forthwith sent a body of troops into the heretical district. They fell upon the unsuspecting inhabitants of thirty or more peaceful little villages, and in a short time reduced the country to a wilderness of ruin. For fifteen leagues round not a cottage was left standing. Over three thousand men, women, and children were ruthlessly murdered, and many hundreds sent to the galleys[2] for life. Those who succeeded in escaping death by sword or flame, fled to the mountains, only to perish there by starvation and exposure.

Thus ended the heresy of the Vaudois. The massacre eased the king's conscience for a time, though when he died not long after, he seems to have had doubts of the wisdom of his course. Still he could console himself with the thought that if he had

[1] Vaudois (vō-dwä′).

[2] Galleys: vessels propelled by sails and oars, and manned by convicts or galley slaves, each of whom was chained to his seat. This seat was never left. There the galley slaves ate, worked, and slept. These unfortunate men were treated with revolting cruelty, and the punishment was more dreaded than that of death.

not converted the obnoxious province, he had at least turned it into a graveyard.

105. Influence of Literature; Rabelais and Montaigne. — But another and subtler influence was at work, which Francis does not seem to have suspected, but which was nevertheless secretly undermining the authority of the Church, and thus indirectly aiding the reformers. While Calvin was denouncing Catholicism from his pulpit at Geneva, the French press sent forth a book which held up the priesthood and the monks to the grossest ridicule.

Francis Rabelais[1] was a man of remarkable though erratic genius, who began life as a Franciscan friar, then turned doctor, and ended by becoming a parish priest. He was the author of that strange medley of wit, nonsense, and vulgarity entitled the "Life of Gargantua and Pantagruel,"[2] of which he boasted that "more copies were sold in two months than of the Bible in ten years."

In those days it was the custom of sovereigns and nobles to keep professional buffoons or "fools," who amused their masters by their sharp sayings, and who, under cover of a jest or a story, sometimes uttered wholesome truths that no one else dared speak. Rabelais may be called the literary "fool" of the period. He attacked corruption and inefficiency in high places, but in such a manner that he escaped the usual penalty of the gallows or the stake. Men read and laughed at the wild, coarse, extravagant burlesque which to-day seems as disgusting as it is tedious; but none the less the satire had its influence in helping to break up the old system of things and prepare the way for the new.

1 Rabelais (rä-blā′).

2 Gargantua and Pantagruel were the names of two famous giants of mediæval story. The first had a gluttonous appetite; the second was his son, and was worthy of such a father. Some writers suppose Gargantua to be a satire on Francis I; but if so, fortunately for Rabelais, the king never discovered his own likeness in that character.

The second great work of the age, though later in time, was the "Essays" of Montaigne.[1] Montaigne, who wrote under the successors of Francis (1580), took for his motto the question, "What do I know?"[2] His essays, dealing with almost every subject and side of human life, may be called so many short sermons on that significant but skeptical text. Montaigne aims to convince his reader that man knows but little, and that even that little has a tinge of uncertainty.

The effect of his book was to weaken faith in tradition. Montaigne really cast doubt on everything: but he did it in such a gentle and genial way that he was a universal favorite. No one wanted to burn the book, still less the author.

It is a striking illustration of his popularity and his courage, that during the civil and religious wars which we are soon to describe, he alone of all the country gentlemen in his province refused to fortify his house.[3] "I have no other guard or sentinel than the stars," said he. Throwing open his doors he welcomed both parties: and, except during the fiercest period of the strife, he was respected and treated as a friend by both.

106. Henry II; Taking of Metz and Calais. — In 1547 Henry II came to the throne. He married Catherine de' Medici,[4] an Italian, and a relative of the pope.[5] Her craft and cruelty were destined to do irreparable harm to France. Voltaire declared that her robes of silk and gold were spotted — he might truly have said drenched — with blood.

While Henry lived, however, Catherine's real character did not fully show itself, for he was not under her influence, but under that of Diana of Poitiers, who was as weak and worthless as Catherine was resolute.

[1] Montaigne (mŏn-tāñ').
[2] "Que sais-je?"
[3] Montaigne lived in a chateau not very far from Bordeaux.
[4] Medici (mā'de-chee).
[5] That is, of the late Pope Clement VII.

Henry continued his father's policy and formed an alliance with the German Protestants in the war against the emperor. With their aid he took the free German city of Metz, and also the neighboring cities of Verdun and Toul. He thus extended the boundaries of the French kingdom on the northeast.

Charles made a desperate effort to take Metz from Henry, but after a twelve weeks' siege, he withdrew, having lost half his army in the attempt. In his rage at the miscarriage of his plans, the gouty old emperor exclaimed, "I see now that Fortune is like the rest of her sex: she favors young men, and disdains those who are getting into years."

From this period (1552) Metz remained one of the most important frontier strongholds of France, until the Franco-Prussian War compelled its cession to Germany in 1870. The struggle for its possession is a good illustration of the strife of France and Germany for that strip of country which once constituted a middle kingdom neither French nor German,[1] but having just enough of each element to give both a pretext for war then and now.

A few years later Charles V, disgusted with the world, abdicated in favor of his son Philip II, and retired to spend his remaining life in a Spanish monastery, where he meditated on the fickleness of Fortune to his heart's content.

Philip married Mary, Queen of England; but he was disappointed in his purpose of crushing out Protestantism in that country, although Mary spared neither rack nor fagots to aid her husband in his policy of conversion or extermination.[2]

Henry continued the war against Spain, but gained no more foreign territory. He, however, made a conquest at home which filled France with exultation. The Duke of Guise,[3] one of his ablest generals, succeeded in wresting Calais from the English. They, it will be remembered, had held it since

[1] See Paragraph 31.
[2] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series. [3] Guise (gēz).

Edward III took it in 1347.[1] When the duke's forces entered its gates in triumph, England lost its last foot of French soil. Queen Mary, who had been determined to hold the city at all odds, never recovered from the humiliation of this surrender. In her last moments she said, "After my death you will find *Calais* written on my heart."

In order to be at liberty to devote all his strength to the destruction of Protestantism in Europe, Philip II made peace with France. Henry had married his eldest son Francis to Mary Queen of Scots. Philip of Spain was now a widower, and Henry, in order to cement the treaty of peace with him, agreed to give him his daughter Elizabeth in marriage, and his sister Marguerite to the Duke of Savoy, one of the Spanish king's ablest allies. At a grand tournament held in honor of the double nuptials, Henry was accidentally killed.

His policy toward the French Calvinists during the latter part of his reign was ominous of future trouble. Henry cared less for their religious views than for their politics. He saw that the tendency of Calvin's work was democratic. Hence he persecuted that great leader's adherents: for, said he, "if we let them increase, we run the risk of falling into a kind of republic like the Swiss."

107. Summary. — During this period, covering almost a century, we have traced the chief points in the struggle between Louis XI and Charles the Bold of Burgundy. We have seen the king gradually succeed in establishing power throughout the realm, thus consolidating France. His reign is also marked by the revival of learning and the introduction of printing. Under Louis' successor, Charles VIII, we have the beginning of the Italian war and the rise of the Tiers État.

With Francis I comes the further development of national unity, the formation of the royal court, the wars with Charles V

[1] See Paragraph 78.

for the balance of power, the French exploration and colonization of America, the beginning of the Reformation, and the rise of French literature.

Finally, we have the extension of royal power and territory by the taking of the free German city of Metz, with Verdun and Toul, followed by the capture of Calais from the English, thus marking the final expulsion of the last remnant of that power from French soil.

SECTION X

We judge not; we only relate. — DARGAUD.

PERIOD OF THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS WARS (1559–1610)

FRANCIS II,[1] 1559–1560. HENRY III,[1] 1574–1589.
CHARLES IX,[1] 1560–1574. HENRY IV,[2] 1589–1610.

108. Accession of Francis II; Power of the Guises. — The death of Henry II was a serious misfortune to France, since it left the realm without a competent head. Francis II, who succeeded to the crown, was but a boy of fifteen, and in feeble health. The situation was critical. The country was divided between two mutually hostile religious parties both eager for power. The greater part belonged to the old Church, but a strong minority, including many influential men, were Calvinists.

The young king gladly left the management of state affairs to his wife's two ambitious uncles, the Duke of Guise, who had just distinguished himself by taking Calais, and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, both of whom were ardent and extreme Catholics. The queen,[3] young, gay, and frivolous, asked nothing more of her uncles than that they should furnish her plenty of money for her pleasures. Thus the Guises became virtually masters of the kingdom.

109. The Bourbons and Montmorencies. — Their monopoly of power excited distrust and hatred. All their movements

[1] House of Valois. [2] House of Bourbon.
[3] On the marriage of Francis II, see Paragraph 106.

were jealously watched by the Bourbon family, whose leaders were Antoine, King of Navarre,[1] and his brother, Prince de Condé.[2] They had espoused the Calvinist[3] or Huguenot cause, as it now began to be called,[4] but rather, it would seem, from motives of policy than from any deep religious convictions. The Bourbons were the descendants of St. Louis,[5] and the next heirs to the French crown in case the young king and his brothers died without leaving a successor. But the shadow of the treason of the Duke of Bourbon in the reign of Francis I.[6] rested on the family, and neither Antoine nor Condé dared to openly demand a part in the government.

The Bourbons were by no means alone in their hatred of the Guises. The Montmorencies, with many other old families among the moderate Catholics, shared this feeling. They saw with secret indignation that a little band of foreigners — a Scotch queen,[7] an Italian queen mother,[8] and the Guises of

[1] King of Navarre: a title derived from his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret (*dĭl-brā'*), queen, in her own right, of the petty kingdom of Navarre on the borders of the Pyrenees. [2] Condé (kon-dā'). [3] See Paragraph 103.

[4] Huguenots: a word of uncertain origin, at one time supposed to be derived from the German-Swiss *Eidgenossen* or "oath-comrades." It was used in France as a nickname or term of reproach.

[5] Genealogical table showing the origin of the Bourbon family and their claim to the crown.

Louis IX (St. Louis)
(1226–1270)

Philip III
(1270–1285),
from whom descended
the three brothers,
Francis II (1559–1560),
Charles IX (1560–1574),
Henry III (1574–1589).

Robert, Count of Clermont,
sixth son of St. Louis.
He married Beatrice de Bourbon (1272). By her he had a son Louis, Duke of Bourbon. Antoine de Bourbon (king of Navarre) and his brother, Prince de Condé, were descendants. In case Francis II and his brothers died without leaving male issue, Antoine and Condé were the next legal heirs to the crown of France. Antoine's son Henry became king (Henry IV) in 1589, thus establishing the house of Bourbon.

[6] See Paragraph 100.
[7] Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. [8] Catherine de' Medici.

Lorraine [1] — now ruled France, while they, the representatives of the old native nobility, were utterly excluded. For this reason they were ready to side for the time with the Bourbons, even though the latter were Protestants, — or pretended to be, — in order that by their combined effort they might drag the obnoxious Guises from power.

110. Coligny and the Huguenot Party. — Meanwhile, the real leader of the Huguenots was Admiral Coligny,[2] who believed in the Reformation with all his "heart, soul, and strength." He was one of the truest and bravest men of the age, and he was convinced that if extreme partisans like the Guises were to hold supreme sway, then nothing but the most decided measures could save the Protestants from a war of persecution that might easily become one of extermination.

He had the entire support not only of the sincere Calvinists, who were ready to give their lives for their religion, but he was also favored by an influential body of the lesser nobility and gentry who were on the lookout for spoils.

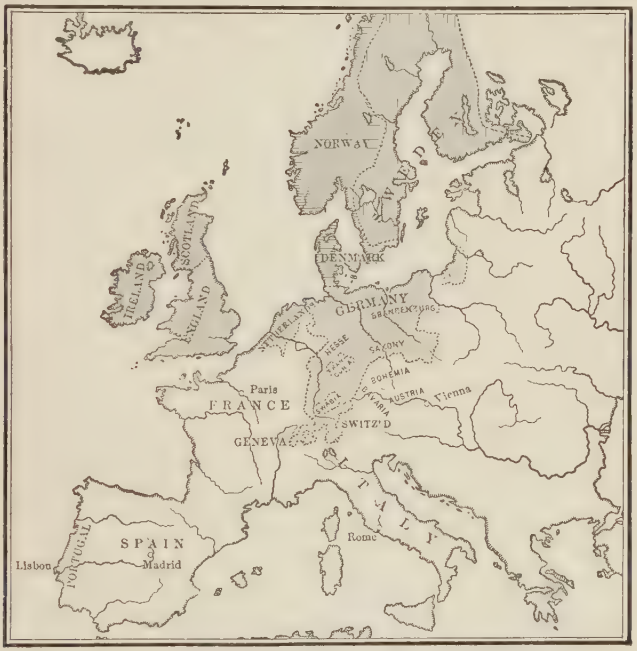
In Germany not a few princes had found it to their political advantage to turn Protestants. In England, Henry VIII, when he declared himself independent of the pope, had seized hundreds of rich estates belonging to the monasteries, and had divided them among his favorites.[3] So in France there were needy and avaricious families eager to see the old Church broken up, that they might get their share of its possessions. Every great movement is sure to draw to itself a certain proportion of such followers; and so long as Protestantism held out the hope or possibility of being a highly profitable faith, these unworthy adherents were ready to fight its battles.

It was evident that the two great religious parties would not continue to remain quiet. Persecution on the one side,

[1] Lorraine, Germany, part of which — *e.g.*, Verdun, Toul, and Metz — had only recently been conquered by the late Henry II. [2] Coligny (ko-leen'ye).

[3] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

resistance on the other, mingled with the political animosity of both, were preparing the way for an explosion. Those who wished well to their country saw with terror that civil war was at hand. Even so moderate a man as Montaigne, who sided with neither party, did not hesitate to say later that France



The Religious Revolution of the Sixteenth Century

The Protestant Church was established by law in the shaded countries; the unshaded remained Catholic. Germany and Switzerland were divided.

would never enjoy any real peace until either the Duke of Guise or the chief of the Huguenot party was got rid of.

111. The Conspiracy of Amboise; Return of Mary to Scotland. — But before coming to open conflict those who were opposed to the Guises and the court, embracing a large number of Huguenots, resolved to make an effort to get Francis

into their own hands. If successful, they could dictate such changes as they thought best. Their plot was to surprise the court then at the castle of Amboise,[1] seize the king and queen, and kill or otherwise dispose of those who had the control of the government. Calvin, who had received some intimation of the proposed action, emphatically condemned it, saying that if a single drop of blood was shed, rivers would follow.

The conspiracy was discovered by the Guises, and so many prisoners were captured that it took a month to behead, hang, and drown them. Though the Bourbon Prince Condé was really the prime mover in the plot, yet he had managed matters so shrewdly that it was impossible to convict him, and he successfully defied justice.

Shortly after, the king died (1560), having reigned less than a year and a half. His widow, Queen Mary, with many bitter tears and presentiments of coming evil, bade a final farewell to France, and embarked for Scotland. She left a country that was dear to her to go to one she did not love, although it was her native land. Young, beautiful, and passionately fond of pleasure, she went to ascend a throne for whose stern duties she was unequal, — a throne whose steps led to a prison, and a prison whose doors opened, after eighteen years, only to give her free passage to the scaffold.[2]

112. Regency of Catherine de' Medici; Conciliation of Parties; L'Hôpital's Advice. — As the late king left no children, his brother Charles now became heir to the crown. But as this prince was not yet eleven, and therefore would not be legally of age for three years,[3] his mother, the crafty Catherine de' Medici, became his and his brothers' guardian and the real ruler of France.

[1] Amboise (ŏN-bwäz′): on the Loire, near Tours.

[2] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series; and see, too, Noel Paton's striking portrait of the unfortunate Mary, in John Skelton's Essays.

[3] In France at this period the heir to the throne became of age at fourteen. See Larousse's Dictionnaire Universel, "Majorité."

She began by conciliating all parties. Had she adhered firmly to that wise policy, she might perhaps have saved the country. But her object was to gratify her own inordinate ambition. Human life never had any value in her eyes, and if she sought peace, it was to gain time that her own power might become effectually established.

Catherine chose for her chief counselor Michel de l'Hôpital,[1] a man of heroic character, as able as he was upright. He clearly saw the coming crisis, but hoped to avert it. Though a zealous Catholic, he could not endure that the Protestants should be denied liberty of worship. Blameless in soul himself, fearing God, and loving his fellow-men, he pleaded earnestly for religious toleration.

"What need is there," he demanded of the Guises, "of flames and torture? If we are armed with a good life, we require nothing more to put down heresy. Let us banish these words, 'Lutheran,' 'Huguenot,' and 'Papist,' — names only of parties and of seditions, — and let us all cling to that of 'Christian.'"

113. Edict of Toleration; Action of the Jesuits. — For a time this noble counsel prevailed, and the government no longer cut out the tongues of the Protestants, "that they might not protest." Catherine allowed L'Hôpital to issue an edict permitting the Huguenots to hold their meetings unmolested in the country districts, though forbidding them to assemble in the walled towns, where party feeling ran high, and bloodshed would probably ensue if such liberty were granted.

Furthermore, all laws against heresy were now suspended; on the other hand, the Huguenots were prohibited from interfering in any way with the Catholic worship, as they not infrequently did in those parts of France where they were strongest.

But unfortunately the times were not favorable to these liberal measures. To check the spread of the Reformation,

[1] Michel de l'Hôpital (mē-shăl′ dẹh lō-pe-tăl′).

the society of Jesuits or soldiers of Christ had been organized. Their zeal to maintain the Catholic Church in its integrity was quite equal to that of Luther or Calvin in behalf of Protestantism. They believed it their duty to refuse all compromise with dissenters and heretics. Whatever influence they could bring to bear on the government was therefore hostile to toleration.

The Jesuits did not stand alone. The great body of monks felt that the success of Protestantism would probably result in the same wholesale confiscation of monastic property that had taken place in England. They therefore naturally opposed any policy which seemed to favor the reformers. With them sided many able but narrow-minded theologians of the college of the Sorbonne. These last now secretly begged the assistance of Philip II of Spain.

That gloomy despot, who so hated Protestantism that he cast his own son into prison as a heretic, and kept him there till he died, did not need to be invited twice to lend his aid. He remonstrated with Catherine against her policy of toleration toward the Huguenots, and finally threatened to send an army into France to put down the "rebels," as he called them, if she persisted in granting them religious liberty. To add to the precarious condition of the Protestants, Antoine de Bourbon now deserted them, in the hope that he would thus secure the political favor of Philip.[1]

With respect to the country at large, it may be said that the Catholic clergy generally were opposed to toleration; that the Tiers État,[2] or body of the people, favored it; and that the nobility were divided.

114. Massacre at Vassy; Beginning of the Civil War (1562). — It was at this juncture, while Catherine was debating

[1] The Catholics persuaded Antoine that if he joined them, Philip II of Spain would give him Sardinia as an offset for the loss of that portion of the kingdom of Navarre which Spain had seized.

[2] See Paragraph 94.

whether to sustain L'Hôpital or not, that the civil war, so long impending, finally broke out.

On a Sunday morning in the spring of 1562, the Duke of Guise, while on his way to the province of Champagne, in eastern France, stopped at the village church of Vassy[1] to attend divine service. It happened that not far off stood a barn where several hundred Huguenots were holding a religious meeting, and their singing could be distinctly heard in the church.

Some of the duke's people considered this an insult to their master's doctrine, and entering the barn, sword in hand, they commanded the Protestants to be quiet. The latter paid no heed to the command, and the enraged soldiers now rushed upon them. The Protestants, who were unarmed, defended themselves with stones and other missiles. Hearing the tumult, the duke ran in to put a stop to it, and was accidentally struck in the face with a stone. Then his infuriated followers, in spite of the duke's efforts to check them, began an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, killing sixty and wounding over two hundred more.

The flames of political and religious hatred, so long repressed, now burst forth; and with brief intervals of truce, France, for the next thirty years, was drenched in the blood of its own people. It was a division of families as well as of parties; and father fought against son, and son against father.

If the extreme Catholics were eager for battle, many of the Huguenots were not a whit behind. "I speak," said the Calvinist Beza, "for a faith better skilled in suffering than in revenging wrong; but remember, sire," said he to Antoine de Bourbon after the latter's desertion of the Protestant cause, "that our religion is an anvil which has worn out many hammers."

115. Condition of the Two Parties. — The Huguenots had the advantage of two such able leaders as Coligny and Condé.

[1] Vassy (väs-se'): near the source of the Seine, a little southeast of Paris.

They declared the latter Protector of the Realm and Defender of the King. In a short time they had possessed themselves of over two hundred cities and towns, including such important places as Rouen, Lyon, Tours, and Orléans.[1]

On their side, the Catholics held Paris, and had the king and the power of organized government to back them, with Philip II of Spain as an ally, who sent three thousand veteran troops to fight in their behalf.

As an offset to this help from Spain Queen Elizabeth of England promised Condé an equal force to defend Rouen. She, however, prudently stipulated for ample security for the expense of the expedition, preferring not to fight even for the support of the Protestant cause unless the Protestants would pay the bills.

116. Progress of the War in the South; Huguenots versus Catholics. — In the south of France the war was carried on by roving bands of desperadoes rather than by regularly organized armies. Both sides committed frightful atrocities. Many of the Huguenot rank and file, not content with slaying their enemies, destroyed convents, devastated cathedrals, and broke open tombs. At Orléans Condé saw one of his men hacking and mutilating a statue in the Church of the Holy Cross. Seizing a gun he aimed it at him, threatening to fire if he did not instantly stop. "General," cried the man, "just wait a bit till I 've finished knocking this idol to pieces, and then kill me if you like."

On the other hand, a Catholic officer who got the nickname of the "Royalist Butcher," was accustomed to put his prisoners to death by hanging and all sorts of tortures. It was said that it was easy to tell what route he had taken, from the number of corpses he invariably left suspended from the trees along the way. These dead bodies, he jocularly said, were the fruits

[1] In all of these places the Huguenots had sympathizers, and in some the majority of the inhabitants were of that faith.

of his war farming. Neutrals, or those who sought to be such, rarely escaped. Their houses were pillaged by both armies; they themselves were treated with insult and cruelty, and might be considered highly fortunate if they got off with their lives.

117. The War in the North. — In the north the war was conducted with well-equipped armies and by regular battles and sieges. Rouen, one of the chief strongholds of the Huguenots, was taken and given up to all the horrors of pillage for an entire week. Then followed a grand execution of prisoners. During the siege the treacherous Antoine de Bourbon was killed while fighting on the Catholic side. In the next battle fortune favored the Huguenots for a time, and Catherine de' Medici was told by a messenger that her forces were beaten. "Well, if that is the case," said she, "we shall have to turn Protestants and pray to God in French." [1]

But in the end victory was on the side of the Guise or court party, Condé having been taken captive. The next year, while besieging Orléans, the Duke of Guise was assassinated by a Huguenot spy, sent to commit the murder, as his family erroneously believed, by Admiral Coligny.

118. A Temporary Peace. — Catherine now offered terms of peace. She saw that the war was exhausting her resources, and that the longer it went on, the more difficult it would be to reëstablish order and prosperity. Already some extreme Huguenots were beginning to say that kings had had their day, and that it was time that the people came into power.

The peasants, too, were getting insubordinate. In some districts they refused to pay rent, or to labor for their feudal masters, unless those who demanded it could show Bible authority in their favor. As both parties were willing to make terms, peace was accordingly declared, and some concessions were made to the Huguenots.

[1] Alluding to the fact that while the Catholics continued to use a Latin service book, the Huguenots, who had rejected it, prayed in French.

But the sheathed swords could not remain quiet in their scabbards. Though open battle had ceased, yet each side taunted and reproached the other, and assassinations were frequent.

119. Catherine's Artful Policy. — Catherine, who never hesitated to use any means to gain her ends, now changed her policy and employed all kinds of seductive pleasure to win over those she wanted. In her brilliant and profligate court she never lacked means to tempt men from duty, and if she could secure peace in this way, it would answer her purpose better than fighting in the field. So eager was she for power that she even set her own children quarreling among themselves, and tempted them into every kind of debauchery, that she might get supreme control.

But now that the power of the Guises was in great measure broken by the duke's death, she dreaded lest the Huguenot nobles should acquire a dangerous strength. While they were weak, the artful queen mother had favored them in order to hold the opposite party in check. Now she turned and began to favor the Catholics. The articles in the recent treaty of peace which granted the Protestants a certain degree of religious liberty were disregarded, and crimes committed against the reformers were allowed to pass unpunished.

Catherine, indeed, still talked smoothly of her desire for the permanent reconciliation of Catholics and Calvinists, but while she talked she quietly made ready for war.

120. Catherine's Plot; Renewal of the War; Peace of St. Germain. — The Huguenots, however, were alert and determined not to be surprised. Instead of waiting to be attacked they struck the first blow. After six months of indecisive fighting another false peace was concluded.

Then Catherine and her party devised a plot for seizing and beheading the Protestant leaders, Coligny and Condé. With these proposed victims Jeanne d'Albret, the widow of Antoine

de Bourbon, was included, since she, who was a zealous Protestant, indulged the hope that her son, Henry of Navarre,[1] might sometime reign over France as a Huguenot king.

Coligny and Condé found out the plot and fled to the fortified city of La Rochelle,[2] which was strongly garrisoned by their party. Here, too, came the dauntless Jeanne, bringing her young son Henry. Like Queen Elizabeth of England she could declare with truth that, though she had a woman's body, she had a warrior's soul. To carry on the struggle she mortgaged her estates, pledged her jewels, and stood ready to give, if need be, her own life and that of her children.

In the battles which followed both armies lost heavily; Condé was shot on the Huguenot side, and, at a later date, Montmorency on that of the Catholics. Condé's death was a severe blow to the Protestants, and they were on the point of giving up the combat in the open field; but the heroic Jeanne came forward, leading her son, Prince Henry, and the young Prince Condé. "Here," said she to the troops, "are two new chiefs whom God gives you, and two orphans whom I entrust to your care." Both lived, as we shall see, to win names in history.

The Huguenots had now been beaten at all points; yet, as the reed bends to the storm and recovers when it is passed, so they recovered after every defeat. The wily Catherine de' Medici saw that, notwithstanding her successes, she was making no real progress. She therefore offered her adversaries an advantageous peace, in order to gain strength for a new and more decisive stroke. By the treaty of St. Germain[3] (1570), the Protestants received a considerable degree of religious liberty: all employments were to be open to them;

[1] Navarre: then a small independent kingdom in the southwest of France. It had once included a portion of Spanish territory.

[2] La Rochelle (lä rō-shĕll′): "the little rock," on the western coast of France See Map No. XII, page 238.

[3] St. Germain (săn-zhĕr-măn′).

and finally four fortified cities, of which La Rochelle was one, were given them as places of refuge and defense.

121. Coligny's Project for a Huguenot Colony in America and in Holland. — Coligny, the only surviving leader of the Protestants, earnestly counseled his followers to keep this peace. He had seen enough of the horrors and the losses of civil war. Like the brave man, true patriot, and sincere Christian that he was, he hoped that the unhappy country might now have time to heal its wounds, and that both parties, by mutual toleration, would overcome evil with good.

In case, however, that this happy result could not be attained, he had projected a Protestant colony in America. More than fifty years before the Pilgrims landed in New England to plant a free religious commonwealth, this remarkable man had begun a Huguenot settlement in Florida.[1] The Spaniards attacked it, hanged the colonists, and fastened above the heads of the corpses a placard on which was written, "Not because they were Frenchmen, but because they were heretics." A French Catholic, De Gourgues,[2] moved with righteous indignation, fitted out a ship and avenged this act by hanging their murderers, over whose bodies he put a similar placard, bearing the inscription, "Not because they were Spaniards, but because they were assassins." But Coligny's efforts failed, and he had to leave to the English race the realization of his dream of a great American Protestant state.

Although disappointed in the New World, yet Coligny was not without hope of success in a different direction. The Dutch had revolted against the tyranny of Spain, and were endeavoring to establish the independent Protestant republic of the Netherlands. Not even the ferocity of Philip II's ablest general, the Duke of Alva, had cowed the spirit of the

[1] See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.
[2] De Gourgues (deh goorg).

resolute Hollanders. Rather than yield to Spain they were ready to break down the dikes and let the water of the North Sea sweep over their country.

It was to this land, where he felt sure of a welcome, that Coligny now meditated leading his Huguenot followers. In doing this he had a double object. He would find shelter for such of the Protestants of France as were willing to go to Holland, and he would furthermore give aid to men of his own faith in their struggle against Philip II of Spain, the mildest of whose punishments for heresy was burying alive or burning.

Meanwhile Charles had become king of France, under the title of Charles IX. He was not a favorite with Catherine, who gave the preference to Charles's brother, the Duke of Anjou. The king was naturally jealous of this preference, and he was also impatient of being kept any longer in leading strings by his mother.

On one point, however, both were agreed. They dreaded the ambitious schemes of Philip, and feared that when he had crushed out the rebellion in the Netherlands he would endeavor to get control of France and make it part of a gigantic kingdom comprising nearly all western Europe.

Both mother and son would probably have consented to any scheme of Coligny's which would hold Spain in check, providing it did not involve them in open war with a monarch who was more than a match for France.

Coligny urged the king to take some decided stand, and even went so far as to intimate that the time was not far off when he would have to choose between war with Philip in behalf of the Protestants of Holland, or civil war at home.

122. The Ill-Omened Marriage of Henry and Marguerite. — But Charles had a plan which he hoped would keep him clear of both dilemmas. He thought that he could secure the support of the Huguenot party by marrying his sister Marguerite,

who was a Catholic like himself, to Henry of Navarre, who stood next to Coligny in the Protestant ranks. He hoped, too, to marry his brother, the Duke of Anjou, to Queen Elizabeth of England, and so get him out of the way.

The princess Marguerite was averse to the husband whom her brother had chosen for her; but that made no difference, and the wedding was arranged to come off in front of the cathedral of Notre Dame, on August 18, 1572. Henry of Navarre's mother, Jeanne d'Albret, had gone up to Paris to confer with Catherine about the marriage, and had suddenly and mysteriously died. Report said that Catherine had poisoned her. Henry, still clad in mourning for his mother, who was by far "the noblest woman of her time," was making preparations for the ill-omened nuptials.

All of the leading Huguenots had been invited to come to Paris for the event, and most of them had accepted. There were some, however, who had misgivings, and feared the festivities were only the bait of some terrible trap, and that the affair would end in blood. One prominent man of the party did not hesitate to say, "If that wedding comes off, its favors will be crimson."[1]

Coligny was warned by some of his friends that it would be especially dangerous for him to attend; but he replied, "I would rather be dragged through the streets of Paris on a hook than lose the chance of making peace at home and war abroad."

The wedding took place at the time appointed and on ground that might be considered neutral; for though under the shadow of the great Catholic cathedral, it was not within it. The princess Marguerite obstinately refused to take Henry for her husband, but Charles seized her head and forced her to nod an affirmative reply to the archbishop's questions, and so in this rude fashion she was made a bride.

[1] Wedding favors: knots of white ribbon worn at a marriage.

The marriage was no sooner over than trouble began. The pulpits of Paris denounced the unholy union of a Catholic with a heretic. The young Duke of Guise, who believed that his father had been murdered at the battle of Orléans by one of Coligny's emissaries,[1] was eager to take the admiral's life.

On the other hand, Charles seemed to yield more and more to Coligny's influence, and Catherine saw to her dismay that she was losing control over her irresolute and weak-minded son.

In her rage at this discovery, she willingly abetted a scheme for the assassination of Coligny and the other Protestant leaders. If the attempt succeeded she could throw the blame on the Guises. This would excite the Huguenots to rise against them, and in the bloodshed that would ensue she might get rid of the master spirits of both parties. She could then manage the weak king in her own way, with no one to hinder.

A professional assassin — for there were plenty of such in those days — was hired to dispatch Coligny. He missed his aim, and the admiral, though wounded, was not killed. As soon as the king heard of the deed, he hastened to the great Protestant general to express his horror and his sympathy. "You," said he to Coligny, "are hurt in body, but I am hurt in spirit"; and he vowed not to let the crime pass unpunished.

123. Plot to exterminate the Huguenots. — Catherine was now thoroughly alarmed. Her plot had failed. The king had sworn to take vengeance on its perpetrators. The Protestants would rise, the civil war would again break out, and her influence would be utterly lost. The Huguenots of Paris, fearing with good reason that their own lives were in danger, had already begun to arm in self-defense.

Torn by conflicting passions, she now resolved on the terrible deed that has ever since associated the church festival

[1] See Paragraph 117.

of St. Bartholomew with the darkest and the most stupendous crime recorded in the annals of French history. The stealthy, tigress nature of this desperate woman was fully roused. She knew that she could count on the help of the Guises and their followers. Her plan was to strike quick and hard; at one blow she would destroy Coligny and the chief men of the Huguenot party.

Seven years before, the Duke of Alva had met her at Bayonne,[1] and tried to persuade her to this step, but she had then, says Motley, resolutely refused. Now, she needed no persuasion.

But in order to carry out the conspiracy successfully she must have her son's consent.

At first the king repulsed the proposition with unfeigned horror. But Catherine was firm. "War," said she, "is inevitable. Your crown is at stake. If you do not strike first, then each side will choose its own leader and you will be left out. Remember the Italian proverb, 'There are times when kindness is cruelty, and cruelty kindness.'"

Finally, as Charles still refused his consent to the massacre, Catherine turned away, saying, "Well, I will take my other son (the Duke of Anjou) and leave you, for I will not remain to witness the ruin of my house." Then the king, touched in a jealous chord, yielded. "I consent," said he, "but on this one condition, — that you do not leave a Huguenot alive in France to reproach me."

124. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. — About two in the morning of Sunday, August 24, 1572, — the day of the solemn festival of St. Bartholomew, — the bell of the church of St. Germain,[2] opposite the east end of the palace of the Louvre, began to toll. Immediately every church bell in Paris responded. It was the signal for the massacre. The houses

[1] Bayonne (bā-yŏn′): in the southwestern corner of France.
[2] St. Germain l'Auxerrois (săn-zhĕr-maN′ lōsār-rwä′).

of the Huguenots had been marked. The attacking party and their friends wore white badges; all who were not so designated were to be slain as enemies of the government and of religion.[1]

Coligny was the first to fall. The Duke of Guise's men rushed into the admiral's mansion. Coligny had been awakened by the tumult. "Are you the admiral?" demanded one of the assassins, as he pointed his sword at his heart. "I am," answered Coligny calmly, "and you, young man, should respect my white hairs. But do your work; you will only shorten my life by a little."

The murderer plunged his weapon into the admiral's bosom, and threw the still living body out of the window to be insulted by the mob. The Duke of Guise looked exultingly at the corpse as it lay on the pavement, and then stamped his heel into the face. Later the body was hung on a gibbet, and the head was cut off and given to the queen mother.

Then the murder of the Huguenots in Paris became general. It was, to use an expression of the time, "a deluge of crime." The massacre extended to most of the provinces; but in some the authorities interfered to save the Huguenots, and in others they were able to protect themselves in a measure. The young Prince of Condé and the king's new brother-in-law, Henry of Navarre, were threatened with immediate destruction. "Choose," said the king, "either the mass[2] or death." Both were brave men, but neither possessed the martyr spirit, and so they promised compliance.

The work of slaughter went on for three days without interruption. The Seine was filled with bodies. Many who were not Huguenots were slain, and debtors settled up long accounts with importunate creditors by dagger and bullet. The whole number slain cannot be determined. Probably from two to

[1] See Millais' noted picture of the "Huguenot Lover."

[2] Mass: the Roman Catholic communion service.

four thousand perished in Paris, and four or five times that number in the provinces.

When Philip of Spain heard the good news he could not suppress his joy. It meant not only the death of multitudes of heretics, but the weakening of the power of France. He who was hardly ever known to smile, now laughed aloud. On the other hand, the Catholic emperor of Germany, Maximilian II, expressed the utmost horror at the act, which, as a later Catholic writer has said, "never had, and, if God permit, never shall have, its parallel." [1]

The pope ordered a thanksgiving, and caused a medal to be struck to commemorate the massacre; but later, says Guizot, "when the truth came out he was seen to shed tears. When asked why he wept at the destruction of the heretics he replied, 'I weep at the means the king used, which were exceedingly unlawful and forbidden of God.'"

In England the dreadful news created the utmost consternation. The cry was for vengeance, and the Bishop of London urged the queen to send leading Catholics to the Tower and to strike off the head of Mary Queen of Scots (then a prisoner) without delay.

125. Renewal of the Civil War; Death of the King. — The massacre failed to accomplish what Catherine hoped. The Protestant party, though it had met with frightful loss, was not exterminated. Those who were left flew to arms. They made good Beza's words, that their faith was an anvil equal to breaking many hammers to pieces.[2] Civil war now burst forth with greater fury than ever. The Huguenots intrenched themselves in La Rochelle and other walled cities, where they defended their cause so valiantly that Charles was glad to offer terms of peace. At the very time when he was receiving the congratulations of the king of Spain on the triumphant

[1] Péréfixe, Archbishop of Paris, seventeenth century.
[2] See Paragraph 114.

slaughter of St. Bartholomew, he found himself forced to grant the heretics liberty of conscience by the treaty of La Rochelle.

A year later Charles died at the age of twenty-four. His last hours, it is said, were spent in an agony of fear, begging God to forgive him for the innocent blood he had shed. He had horrible visions, and thought that he heard the groans and cries for mercy of the victims who had fallen through his consent. His old Huguenot nurse tried in vain to comfort him. "No," said he, as he turned his face to the wall, "it is of no use: I have followed evil counsel. I am lost, I am lost." If the son was thus to despair of the mercy of Heaven, what shall we say of the mother who had persuaded him to guilt?

126. Accession of Henry III; his Policy toward the Huguenots. — Charles was succeeded by his brother, Henry III, a man equally weak and more utterly worthless. He had no sooner taken the crown than he ordered the Protestants to give up their religion or leave the country. This command renewed the civil war. The Catholics still had the Guises as their head. The Huguenots had now no leaders left but Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, both of whom renounced their compulsory Catholicism.

But the king vacillated. He had a strong court party against him who were eager for power, and he could not fight them and the Huguenots too. Presently he made up his mind to retract his edict and offer peace. Large concessions were now granted to the Huguenots. Persecution ceased. Offices of state were given to influential Protestants. Henry of Navarre was made governor of Guienne.[1] The young Prince of Condé received Picardy;[2] even the widows and orphans of St. Bartholomew were remembered, and were exempted from paying taxes.

[1] Guienne (gē-ĕn′): a province in the southwest, on the Bay of Biscay.
[2] Picardy (pĭ-kär-dĭ′): a province in the northwest, on the Channel.

127. The Holy League. — These concessions, together with Henry's bad government and ruinous extravagance, created a powerful opposition, partly political and partly religious. Eventually the Duke of Guise and his party took advantage of the widespread feeling, and organized the Holy League (1576).

It had four chief objects: (1) to reëstablish and maintain the Catholic religion; (2) to suppress Protestantism; (3) to prevent Henry of Navarre from obtaining the succession to the crown;[1] (4) to restore the political rights enjoyed under Clovis, the first Christian king, with such better liberties as could be found.[2] But there was a fifth and secret object, which the Duke of Guise had more at heart, perhaps, than any of these, and that was, under cover of piety and patriotism, to secure the royal power for himself.

Thus, like a cunning politician of modern times, he made his boasted devotion to Church and country a bid for public favor; and to further strengthen his cause, manufactured a genealogy designed to prove that he was the legitimate descendant and successor of Charlemagne.

128. Renewal of the War; Assassination of the Duke of Guise. — The formation of the League was the signal for the renewal of the strife. There were three Henrys in the field, — Henry III, Henry, Duke of Guise, and Henry of Navarre. In this great triangular duel each was fighting ostensibly for religion, yet fighting none the less for his own private interests. The foundations of all order seemed broken up, and the whole country was given over to anarchy and bloodshed.

Both sides quoted Scripture as a warrant for the atrocities they had committed, were committing, or were preparing to

[1] Henry III's brother, the Duke of Anjou (late Duke of Alençon), would have legally succeeded to the throne in case the king left no son. The king had no children and the duke died before him (1584), so that Henry of Navarre stood next heir to the crown.

[2] This plank in the platform was probably intended to give the chief power to the States-General; in other words, to the nobles of the League.

commit. So the war went on from bad to worse, neither party getting any decided advantage.

Many of the fortified towns were strongly Huguenot, but Paris was wholly devoted to the Duke of Guise, and looked upon the king with the contempt which his character naturally inspired. Henry forbade the duke's entering the city, but he came. The populace sided with him, and the king found himself practically a prisoner in his own capital.

After a time he succeeded in leaving Paris. At a council at the palace of Blois,[1] Henry got his revenge. Rendered desperate, the king incited a band of followers to assassinate the duke. "At last," said he, as he kicked the corpse, "I have killed the reptile; and to kill the reptile is to destroy his venom. Now I am king of France, for 'the king of Paris' is dead." Thus perished the man who sixteen years before had insulted the dead body of Coligny.

But Henry was mistaken, for though he had slain the originator of the League, he had not slain the League itself. Henry had abused his power to such an extent that he had alienated most of his subjects, whether Catholic or Huguenot. So when he boasted to his mother, the wily Catherine de' Medici, that by this murder he had now made himself the real king of France, she quietly said, "Ah, my son, it's one thing to cut your cloth, and another to make it up." His rival was indeed effectually got rid of, but now the question was, How unite the country?

129. Alliance of the King with Henry of Navarre; Murder of the King. — The king resolved to negotiate terms with both parties. The League scorned his proposals; but Henry of Navarre, whose help he next sought, threw himself at his sovereign's feet, and the king raising him up called him brother.

The Huguenot army and the royal troops now united. The king and Henry of Navarre advanced against Paris — that is,

[1] Blois (blwä): a city on the Loire, southwest of Orléans.

against the heart of the League — to attack it. A Dominican monk, coming from the city, begged to speak with the king on a matter of great importance. He secured admission to his presence, and then, suddenly drawing a dagger, stabbed him fatally.

The dying monarch said to Henry of Navarre, "You will never become king unless you become a Catholic." Then turning to his chief men, he made them swear to support Henry as his successor (1589). With his death the house of Valois became extinct, and the house of Bourbon obtained the crown.[1]

130. Henry IV; the Battle of Ivry; Philip of Spain. — But Henry IV was not to secure the crown without a struggle. The League proclaimed one of his uncles, the Cardinal de Bourbon, king; but the moderate Catholics united with the Huguenots in the support of Henry. In 1589 he won the battle of Arques,[2] and in 1590 the decisive victory of Ivry,[3] which opened the way to the siege of Paris. Before the battle a council of war was held. 'One officer wished to make some provision for a safe retreat in case of defeat. "There will be no retreat but the battlefield,"[4] said the king. "In the fight, follow always the white plume in my helmet." That plume led to triumph.

> And in they burst, and on they rushed, while like a guiding star,
> Amidst the thickest carnage blazed the helmet of Navarre.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Hurrah! Hurrah! a single field hath turned the chance of war,
> Hurrah! Hurrah! for Ivry, and Henry of Navarre.[5]

After that sanguinary contest, though Paris still refused to acknowledge him, yet the greater part of the country practically accepted Henry as sovereign. Meanwhile Cardinal de Bourbon

[1] See Genealogical Table, Paragraph 109.
[2] Arques (ärk): near Dieppe, Normandy.
[3] Ivry (ēv-rē'): in Normandy, about forty-five miles west of Paris.
[4] Battlefield, *i.e.*, death.
[5] Macaulay's "Ivry."

HENRY IV AT IVRY

had died, and Philip II of Spain sent an army into France to coöperate with the League, and, in violation of all past custom and law, to place his daughter on that throne that had never yet been occupied by a woman.

For a long time Henry had all he could do to hold his enemies in check. He had the pope, the emperor of Germany, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the League, all against him. At one time he was in rags and with hardly a horse to ride; but the day of his final success was at hand.

131. Henry becomes a Catholic. — The Duke of Sully, Henry's wisest counselor and a steadfast and sincere Protestant, now urged the king to espouse the Catholic faith as the only certain means of securing a lasting peace to the distracted country. Henry was not unwilling. He held long debates with the Catholic theologians, and at last declared that he was fully convinced that they were right. In 1593 he entered the church of St. Denis[1] near Paris. "Who are you?" demanded the Archbishop of Bourges.[2] "I am the king." "What is your request?" "To be received into the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church." Then, kneeling at the feet of the archbishop, he said, "I swear in the presence of Almighty God to live and die in the Catholic religion, and to protect and defend it with my life."

Eight months later Paris, hungry for bread and hungry for peace, held out no longer, but threw open its gates with joy. The League now hastened to make terms with the king, and as the Huguenots did not abandon him, he received the loyal support of both parties.

132. Edict of Nantes. — Henry, though destitute of the moral grandeur of character displayed by Coligny, was, however, a man of great ability, and well fitted to rule in such an emergency. He henceforth devoted all his energies to the

[1] St. Denis (săN-dnē').
[2] Bourges (bōōrzh).

good of France. In 1598 he issued the Edict of Nantes,[1] which secured the Huguenots the rights they had so long demanded. This edict begins a new era in history. It was the first formal recognition of toleration in religion made by any leading power of Europe, and it anticipated a similar act in England by nearly a century.

Ten years before, England's repulse of the attempted Spanish invasion had proved that Catholics and Protestants would unite to fight for their country and their queen. Henry believed the time had come when both would likewise join forces for the honor of France. He saw then, what all admit to-day, that freedom of conscience is one of the surest guarantees of national strength.

The Edict of Nantes placed the Huguenots on the same civil footing as the Catholics. Liberty of worship was secured to them throughout France, though with some slight limitations. Their marriages, which the law had refused to sanction, were now declared valid. They were permitted to hold certain fortified cities as a pledge and means of safety. The schools, which had been closed against them, were now open for the education of their children. Finally, the Huguenots were rendered eligible to public office, and were to be represented in the parliaments or courts.

In a word, all that the magnanimous L'Hôpital[2] had tried to obtain for them was now definitely granted. This act of tardy justice put an end to the civil wars which had lasted for nearly forty years.

133. Henry's Labors for France. — Never did a country stand in greater need of peace. It had lost by massacres and civil strife over a million of its people. Thousands of houses were in ruins, the peasants were wretchedly poor, and brigands roamed everywhere.

[1] Nantes (năntz or nŏNt): a city on the Loire. The edict was issued there.
[2] See Paragraph 113.

With the help of Sully, his chief minister, the king reorganized the finances, aided the restoration of agriculture and trade, opened roads, built bridges, dug canals, established manufactures, and promoted commerce. He thus proved himself a true friend to every farmer and tradesman throughout the land. Prosperity began to smile once more on the exhausted realm. Wherever Henry went he was hailed with blessings as the "Father of his Country," and it looked as though his good-natured wish would be realized, and that he would live to see every peasant have a fowl to put in his pot for his Sunday dinner.

But beloved as Henry was, he was not safe from the hand of the assassin. In 1610, after a reign of over twenty years spent in building up France, he was murdered in the streets of Paris by the fanatic Ravaillac.[1] He had well earned the title of Henry the Great. No king's memory has ever been more affectionately cherished by the French people. When in the Revolution of 1789 the royal tombs at St. Denis were broken open and the contents thrown out, Henry's remains were respected even by the mob, and left inviolate.

134. Summary. — The whole period, covering a little more than half a century, is entirely taken up with the civil and religious wars of the Catholics and the Huguenots. These disastrous conflicts were often prompted as much by the personal ambition of the leaders as by any higher motive, though beneath the surface there was a real contest going on between the principles of religious authority on one side and of religious liberty on the other.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew, the formation of the League, the conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism, and the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes are the chief points. The period ends in the reconciliation of all parties, the establishment of liberty of worship, and the revival of the prosperity of France, checked, however, by the assassination of the king.

[1] Ravaillac (rä-väl-yäk′ or rä-vä-yäk′).

SECTION XI

I am the State. — Louis XIV.

ABSOLUTISM OF THE CROWN — STRUGGLE FOR DOMINION IN EUROPE — REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES — ATTEMPT TO GET POSSESSION OF AMERICA. 1610–1774

Louis XIII, 1610–1643. Louis XIV, 1643–1715. Louis XV, 1715–1774.

135. Louis XIII; Regency of Marie de' Medici; the Concinis. — The dagger that slew Henry IV inflicted a terrible blow on the welfare of France. The nation lost its chief guide and support before it had acquired strength and unity to take care of itself. Henry's son, Louis XIII, was not yet nine, and according to French custom, his mother, Marie de' Medici,[1] a foreigner by birth, became ruler during his minority. The queen mother soon found that her ideas of government and Sully's did not agree, and she dismissed her deceased husband's friend and counselor, after his twenty years' service to the state, in order that she might be free to carry out some petty schemes of marriage for her children.

Then Marie fell under the influence of an artful Italian, named Concini,[2] who with his wife soon got absolute control. Their ambition and greed knew no bounds. They used the public money to buy estates, offices, and honors for themselves

[1] Marie de' Medici, Henry IV's second wife. She was related to the pope. Her only recommendation was that she brought Henry an abundance of money

[2] Concini (kon-chee'-nee).

and their relatives. They took bribes from those who wanted government favors, and they got a large revenue by selling pardons to rich criminals. The money which Henry IV had accumulated was wasted by them, and by Marie, in gifts, pensions, and salaries.

Still Concini and his friends were not satisfied. Now that they had plundered the royal treasury they wanted political power. It seemed as though their object was to tear France to pieces and divide it among themselves. One demanded the government of a fortified city, where he could virtually reign supreme; others had already taken possession of such places as pleased them, and refused to give them up. "Kings have had their turn," said the nobles, "now we will have ours."

136. **The States-General of 1614.** — The Prince of Condé, a Catholic by education, though the descendant of a Huguenot family, accused the queen mother of shameful waste and mismanagement, and, having taken up arms, demanded that a States-General[1] should be called to remedy these abuses. Marie quieted Condé and his party by the gift of large sums, and then very unwillingly summoned a States-General.

That body met in Paris in the autumn of 1614. It was composed of the nobles, clergy, and representatives of the people, but as the latter were powerless unless one or both of the former classes would vote with them, they had, as usual, to satisfy themselves with vain protests and vigorous speeches.

Each class had its grievances. Each loudly demanded reform; but as each was jealous of the other and sought relief purely for itself, nothing decisive was done.

The nobles denounced the presumption of the lower house in pretending to anything like equality with themselves. They furthermore expressed great indignation, because rich magistrates and lawyers in the towns had been allowed to buy

[1] States-General or national assembly: see Paragraph 71.

hereditary representation in the States-General. The clergy were not less indignant at the proposition that they should pay taxes. "That," said they, "would be giving to the state what belongs to God."

The deputies of the people, on whom all the burdens fell, were clamorous that the load should be lightened. Instead of paying all the bills of government, they thought it but fair that the upper classes should contribute part. It had become the custom for the crown to grant the rebellious nobles large pensions[1] in order to keep them quiet. Under the management of Marie and the Concinis, these pensions had doubled within four years.

The deputies demanded: (1) the reduction of these pensions; (2) the equalization of taxation in some degree; (3) the removal of ruinous restrictions on trade; (4) the better and cheaper administration of justice; (5) the summoning of a States-General at least once every ten years.

If we compare these demands made by the people of France with the rights and privileges already fully secured by the same class in England, we shall see how little the former really asked.[2] But they were denied even that little.

A petition was sent to the king humbly asking his consideration of these points. The deputies might as well have petitioned His Majesty's bronze statue in the garden of the Louvre. No answer was vouchsafed. The next time they went to their assembly room they found the doors locked, and were told by the official on duty that the queen mother wanted the hall for a dance!

The next national assembly that met was in 1789, just a hundred and seventy-five years later, when reform was to be sought not by petition, as in 1614, but by revolution.

[1] These pensions now amounted to about five million five hundred thousand francs, or more than one seventh of the entire revenue.

[2] See Paragraph 72, and consult The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

The nobles, who had compelled the convocation of the States-General, remained quiet for a time; then, when they had spent the money they had received and wanted more, they again took up arms. The government was not prepared to fight, and so bought another temporary peace at a cost of many millions; all of which, of course, came out of the pockets of the people.

137. Richelieu; De Luynes; Richelieu Prime Minister. — But the man was at hand who was to bring order out of chaos. One of the clerical members of the States-General of 1614 was Richelieu,[1] Bishop of Luçon.[2] Marie de' Medici had appointed him her almoner, or official dispenser of alms, and then he rose to be secretary of state. A few years later we shall find him prime minister and the real master of France.

Through his influence Condé was imprisoned and the rebellious nobles were stripped of their ill-gotten power. But the time had not come for him to take a permanent place in the government. Louis, who always needed some one to lean on, had found a new favorite, an army officer named Albert de Luynes.[3]

He not only supplanted the Concinis,[4] but effectually disposed of them, getting the husband shot and the wife beheaded. He persuaded Louis to compel both the queen mother and Richelieu to leave the court, and then ruled supreme. When De Luynes died, a few years later, France was worse off than ever: the royal power was defied, the Protestants, disgusted with the government, were in revolt, and disorder everywhere prevailed.

Fortunately for the country, Marie and Louis now became reconciled, and Richelieu, who had been made a cardinal, came back to power. From that time (1624) until his death, eighteen years afterward, he was virtually king.

[1] Richelieu (rēsh′e̱h-loo or rēsh-le-uh′).
[2] Luçon (lü-sôN′).
[3] De Luynes (de̱h lü-een′).
[4] See Paragraph 135.

138. Richelieu's Policy; his Impartial Severity. — His government may be considered from two points of view: (1) his policy respecting France; (2) his policy toward foreign powers. His first object was to make everything subservient to the interests of the crown. He was no tyrant, yet in one sense he labored, and labored successfully, to establish an impartial and enlightened despotism. He did this, not because he loved despotism, but because he hated anarchy.

In pursuance of this purpose, he executed the law without respect to persons. The nobleman who committed a capital crime could no longer buy exemption from the penalty. Lord and peasant were executed side by side. As the cardinal declared on his deathbed, he had endeavored to be just to all. "I have had no enemies," said he, "but those who were enemies of France."

If he erred, it was on the side of pitiless severity toward the great. There were times, indeed, when he almost made the scaffold a means of government. For swindling contractors who robbed the state he had no mercy. They had their choice either to disgorge their stolen wealth or repent their misdeeds in another world; for here, Richelieu would not tolerate them. Quarrelsome nobles he soon taught to be careful how and when they drew their swords. Those that dared rebel, even though it was the king's own brother or the Duke of Montmorency, speedily felt the grasp of his iron hand.

139. Richelieu destroys Castles; establishes Provincial Courts and Governors. — The owners of the great feudal castles had often used them as fortresses, where they intrenched themselves and defied the king. Richelieu dismantled the most formidable of these strongholds, such as the Château Gaillard, mentioned on page 80, and in some cases he leveled them to the ground. At the same time he abolished certain high offices in the army and navy, which had given those who held them almost unlimited power.

THE CHÂTEAU GAILLARD ("SAUCY CASTLE")

On the other hand, he revived the provincial courts of justice, and enabled the laboring man to bring suit against his titled oppressors. In a single session these tribunals punished more than two hundred nobles by fine or imprisonment.

Next, Richelieu reformed the system of government in the provinces. The administration in such cases had been monopolized by the aristocracy. The Montmorency family had ruled in Languedoc[1] for so many generations that the common people, it is said, believed that there was no higher authority, and that the king was an imaginary being. Richelieu convinced them to the contrary. He indeed left the provincial governors their official title, but he took away their power and gave it to agents of the crown.[2]

With the exception of the organization of the standing army by Charles VII,[3] feudalism had received no blow so damaging as this.

140. Increase of the Power of the Crown; Revolts; Richelieu versus the People. — From this time the royal authority rapidly advanced. Formerly the laws had been prefaced with the words, "Enacted by the King, with the consent of the people." The last clause meant nothing — it was simply a polite flourish; but even that empty rhetorical phrase was now dropped, and the edicts began abruptly with the declaration, "Such is our pleasure." The change was slight, but it was none the less significant.

Richelieu's decided measures excited opposition and rebellion; but he put down every revolt. The very last year of his life, when sick unto death, he discovered the boldest of all these conspiracies, and he sent Cinq-Mars,[4] its leader, to the scaffold.

Though he believed in justice, the cardinal had little real sympathy with what we call the masses. He did nothing

[1] Languedoc (lŏN-ge-dŏk′): a province in the south of France.
[2] These agents were called Intendants; they really governed the provinces.
[3] See Paragraph 85.
[4] Cinq-Mars (săNk-mars′).

toward encouraging their political representation. He believed heavy taxes were good to keep down the body of the nation, and thought that if the burden was lightened too much the working classes would soon become unmanageable. His policy was fatally narrow. It resembled that of George III of England, whose favorite motto, "Everything *for*, but nothing *by*, the people," helped to bring on the American Revolution.

141. Richelieu and the Huguenots; La Rochelle; Richelieu's Labors for France. — Toward the Protestants as a political organization Richelieu was implacable. At the outset of his ministry he declared, "I will employ all the authority the king shall be pleased to give me to ruin the Huguenot[1] party."

He was not without some good reasons for this resolution. Oppression had in many cases rendered the Huguenots hard, narrow, bitter. The invariable effect of religious intolerance is to make its victims bigots, who, when they get the opportunity, become persecutors in their turn.

In the past the Huguenots had too often been treated as enemies of France. That policy had separated them in great measure from the rest of the nation. Politically considered, this party now endangered the unity of the realm. The Duke de Rohan[2] and other haughty and half-rebellious nobles belonged to them. In some cases, notably in the province of Béarn,[3] the Huguenots had refused to tolerate the Catholic worship, and had seized the property of the Church. In 1620 Louis reinstated the Catholics in their former rights in this province.

This caused a revolt, in which the Huguenots were beaten, and all their fortified cities except two — Montauban[4] and La Rochelle — taken from them. The Huguenots, instead of

[1] See Paragraph 109.

[2] Rohan (ro-ŏN′).

[3] Béarn (bē-ärn′): a province in the southwest of France.

[4] Montauban (mŏN-tō-bŏN′): a town of southern France, about one hundred and ten miles southeast of Bordeaux.

submitting, prepared for a new struggle. They could still make desperate resistance, for they had organized the seven hundred societies of their faith into a kind of religious and political confederacy.

The war began at La Rochelle. The Protestant leaders, believing that the king was intending to take the control of that city out of their hands, made a sudden attack on some royal ships, and seizing them towed them into the harbor of the city. Louis at once began the blockade of the place, which now virtually renounced the king's authority, and proclaimed itself a Protestant republic.

Richelieu wished to attack La Rochelle by sea as well as by land, but had no fleet. Such was his address, however, that he actually succeeded in borrowing ships for that purpose from the two great Protestant powers of England and Holland. The Huguenots, in their extremity, had sought aid from the Spaniards, who were not only the enemies of France, but of their religion. The Spaniards promised their assistance. This fact irritated the Protestant powers of England and Holland, and made them willing to lend Richelieu the ships. Richelieu next made a treaty of peace with Spain, in order to have his hands free.

Then he organized his forces and began blockading the city on the land side, and building a stupendous sea wall to cut off all help from foreign fleets. Quietly, patiently, steadily, the work went on under the cardinal's personal superintendence, until, as he said, all was ready "to give the last blow to the last head of the rebellion."

Meanwhile, Charles I., who had now become king of England, felt obliged to make a show, at least, of helping the besieged Huguenots, and sent out three successive fleets which accomplished nothing. The city held out against the cardinal's forces for fifteen months. At the end of that time no less than fifteen thousand people, or half of the population, had died of

starvation. The garrison, reduced to a hundred and fifty soldiers, could resist no longer. On the 29th of October, 1628, they opened the gates. Richelieu entered the last stronghold of the Huguenots. The city which had been their pride and boast forfeited its rights and privileges, and its fortifications were demolished.

With the fall of La Rochelle the religious wars which began in 1562 — nearly seventy years before — came to an end, never to be renewed, and Protestantism, considered as a political organization, ceased to exist. Richelieu showed that he was no bigot, for he granted the Huguenots liberty of worship and civil equality, thus confirming the Edict of Nantes.[1]

Henceforth the lives and property of Protestants were to be protected so long as they remained in France. Richelieu, however, forbade their emigrating to Canada, for he feared that they might unite with the English Protestants of America, or that they would make heretics of the Indians. This prohibition drove many Huguenots to settle in the English colonies, and made them enemies of France. The prime minister's policy of religious toleration at home was so far misunderstood in that age that the extreme Church party sneeringly styled him "the Huguenot's Cardinal."

But this wise conciliation had such effect on the Protestants that many of their leading men conformed to the worship of the established Church of France, and thus gave their support to moderate Catholicism.

Like Henry IV, Richelieu did much to encourage industry and commerce. He also established the first regular political newspaper in France.[2] He founded the French Academy, and he labored assiduously for the higher education of the clergy. Thus in every department, save the most important of all, —

[1] See Paragraph 132.

[2] *La Gazette de France*, 1631. A French literary paper, *Le Mercure Français*, had appeared under Henry IV in 1605. The earliest regular newspaper in England came out in 1622.

that of the extension of the political rights of the people, — France felt and acknowledged his re-creative and uplifting power.

142. Richelieu's Foreign Policy; the Thirty Years' War; Death of Richelieu. — Richelieu's foreign policy may be summed up in three lines: first, to humble still further the declining power of Spain, so long the rival and enemy of France; next, to enlarge the dominion of the French crown on the north and east.

"As far as Gaul reached," said the great cardinal, "so far shall France extend." On the north, the Netherlands,[1] once, in large measure, part of Gaul,[2] were now divided into the Dutch Republic (Holland) and the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium).[3] It was this last-named country which Richelieu hoped to add to the possessions of his master, Louis XIII. These designs, though only partially successful, added greatly to the prime minister's brilliant fame, and prepared the way for the rise of France, in the next reign, to its highest power, or at least to the highest which it reached before Napoleon.

Since 1618 the house of Austria had been engaged in that tremendous struggle with the Protestant party in Germany, which from its duration received the name of the Thirty Years' War. Just as the Reformation had divided France into Catholic and Huguenot factions, so, since the time of Luther, Germany had been in a state of political and religious disunion. The Emperor Charles V and his successors had used every means — force, cruelty, and persuasion — to subdue or reconcile the conflicting parties, but all in vain. In 1618 the Protestants of Bohemia rose in revolt against the intolerant measures of their king, Ferdinand II. A year later he became emperor, and resolved at any cost to crush Protestantism and compel all Germany to bow to one ruler and subscribe to one creed.

1 See Paragraph 90.

2 See Paragraph 1 and note.

3 The Spanish Netherlands did not, however, extend as far north as Belgium now does.

Richelieu, though he had no sympathy with the Protestants, was yet quite willing to aid that party in Germany. In this he was actuated by a double motive: first, by so doing he could strike a blow against Spain, since Austria and Spain were allied by blood and by their political relations; secondly, if Germany could be dismembered, France might seize some of her territory for herself. He began by giving the Protestants large grants of money; but finally determined to aid them in the field.

Wallenstein,[1] the leader of the imperial army, was everywhere victorious. Unless checked in his career, the whole of Germany would have to submit to the will of the emperor, who might next proceed to attack France for her interference in the war.

The cardinal had already begun a contest with Spain in Italy. He now entered into a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, a zealous Protestant, who was ready to give his life for the cause of his German brethren. Gustavus gathered an army and attacked Wallenstein's force. The Swedes went into battle singing Luther's grand hymn, "A mighty fortress is our God."

In two years the "Lion of the North," as Gustavus was now called, had gained so much ground that Protestantism seemed likely to triumph. In his last victorious battle the great Swedish general was killed; but Austria had suffered so many defeats that France no longer feared any danger from that quarter. Three years later the emperor made peace with most of the Protestant provinces of Germany; but Richelieu continued a war which promised to add greatly to the power of the crown of France. Even in his last illness, this wonderful man did not cease to plan the movements of his armies abroad and to superintend affairs of state at home.

At his death, in 1642, he left Louis XIII master of the field. As Montesquieu[2] said, the cardinal "had made his sovereign play the second part in France, but the first in Europe."

[1] Wallenstein (wŏl′e̤n-stīn or väl′e̤n-stīn).

[2] Montesquieu (mŏn-tĕs-kū′ or mŏN-tĕs-k᷈h-uh′).

Richelieu gained his success by always going straight to his mark. Well might Peter the Great of Russia exclaim, as he enthusiastically embraced his statue in Paris, "I would have given half my dominions to have learned from thee how to govern the other half." Yet the French people were to pay a heavy price for the glory of having produced such a man.

In reality the cardinal had prepared the way for the ultimate triumph of one despotic will, and for the destruction of all political and religious liberty in France. Six months after his death the king died, leaving a child of five, Louis XIV, as his successor.

143. Minority of Louis XIV; Mazarin; Treaty of Westphalia. — The reign of Louis XIV extends nominally over a period of seventy-two years, or from 1643 to 1715. For convenience we may divide it into three parts:

I. That of the ministry of Cardinal Mazarin,[1] 1643–1661.

II. That of the administration of Colbert, 1661–1683.

III. That of the decline of the king's power, 1683–1715.

The queen mother, Anne of Austria, who became regent at the death of Louis XIII, chose for her chief counselor Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian by birth, who had been an intimate friend of Richelieu's. He boasted that, though his speech had a foreign accent, his heart was wholly French. But the people distrusted his smooth ways and, contrasting him with Richelieu, said, "After the lion comes the fox."

Mazarin pursued, in a measure, the policy of his distinguished predecessor. The Thirty Years' War was still in progress, and he continued the contest against the emperor of Germany, or, in other words, against the house of Austria.

Under the splendid generalship of Turenne[2] and of "the great Condé"[3] victory favored the French, and in 1648 the

[1] Mazarin (mä-zä-răN′ or măz-a-reen′). [2] Turenne (tû-rĕn′ or tü-rĕn′).

[3] Condé: son of Prince of Condé; his title then was Duke of Enghien (oN-găN′); after his father's death he became Prince of Condé.

emperor begged for peace. The Treaty of Westphalia[1] ended the long contest. The house of Austria, thoroughly beaten and humiliated, was forced to give France possession of all towns and rights which she held in Alsace ;[2] so that Louis XIV's kingdom now extended on the east to the Rhine, and in one case to the town of Breisach,[3] on the farther bank of that river.

Austria furthermore acknowledged the independence of the republics of Holland and of Switzerland, made concessions to Sweden, and formally recognized the religious liberty of the Protestant states of Germany, besides granting them an increase of political power.

144. The Fronde ; St. Vincent de Paul ; the King's Marriage ; End of the Spanish War. — But the very year that the Treaty of Westphalia was signed, an outbreak occurred in Paris which threatened to overthrow Mazarin's power and to revolutionize the government.

The reform party, nicknamed the Fronde,[4] was the result of the reaction against the despotic policy inaugurated by Richelieu and continued by his successor. The loyal ministers had so far destroyed whatever checks had existed on the king's

[1] Westphalia : a province of Prussia, bordering on Holland. The treaty receives its name from the fact that the congresses that negotiated it met in different cities of the province. Among the towns of Alsace granted or confirmed to France by this treaty (Strasburg was not included) were the three bishopries of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, conquered by Henry II. See Paragraph 106.

[2] Alsace : now a province of Germany, on the eastern border of France, but for a long period included in French territory. See Map XII, page 238.

[3] Breisach (brī'zäk) : a town of Baden, Germany, on the right bank of the Rhine.

[4] Fronde : literally, a sling, such as boys then used in their street fights. The watchmen or police of that day tried to stop this fighting ; but as soon as their backs were turned, the stones would begin to fly again. A member of the Parliament of Paris, who was strongly opposed to Mazarin's policy, said that the cardinal could no more suppress the parliamentary opposition to his measures than the watchmen could stop the *frondeurs*, or slingers. From that time the Fronde became the popular name for the reform movement, and also for the insurrections to which it gave rise. Those who stood on the cardinal's side were called Mazarinists ; those who attacked him and his party, Frondeurs

power or his abuse of it, that neither the aristocracy, the Parliament of Paris, nor the people had any real part in the government.

The distress of the country was great. The expense of so many years of foreign war had increased the taxes enormously, and thousands of poor people died in jail through inability to pay them. It was said that in some provinces "the peasant no longer possessed anything but his soul, the officers of the government having seized and sold everything else at auction."

The king's credit had fallen so low that he could not borrow money under twenty-five per cent interest. On all sides matters looked critical, and many believed that the realm would become bankrupt.

It was under these circumstances that the first Fronde, or reform party, was organized. It originated with the action of the Parliament of Paris.[1] That court (1648) refused to register a royal decree imposing new financial burdens on the exhausted country. By an Act of Union[2] the parliament combined with the three other chief courts of the city under Matthew Molé[3] as president, and took the name of the Chamber of St. Louis.

The chamber demanded: (1) that the taxes then in force should be reduced, and that no further taxes should be levied except with the consent of the Parliament of Paris; (2) that the arbitrary imprisonment of persons not convicted of crime should cease;[4] (3) that the office of royal provincial governors (intendants)[5] should be abolished.

1 See Paragraph 63.

2 Mazarin ridiculed the Act of Union, or "Onion," as he pronounced it in his broken French. The populace of Paris ridiculed him in turn in a street song, one line of which ran, "This 'Onion' will make you shed tears."

3 Molé (mo-lá').

4 This was an attempt to secure the writ of Habeas Corpus, passed in England at a later date.

5 The provincial parliaments regarded these governors (intendants, see Paragraph 139) with great jealousy.

For a time the Unionists bade fair to emulate that famous Long Parliament[1] in England which had overthrown so many abuses. But the news of the execution of Charles I., Louis XIV's uncle-in-law, by that body, — or the remnant of it, — and of English treaties with Spain, frightened the French reformers. They feared that they had gone too far: visions of popular revolution on the one hand, and, on the other, of a war with Spain and England combined, put a stop to their further action. The Unionists therefore accomplished nothing.

The nobility had also organized a Fronde, but solely for the redress of their private grievances. It speedily degenerated into a vain and frivolous movement, ending in silly parade and empty declamation.

Last of all, the rabble of Paris and of other large cities got up their Fronde, partly because of the arrest of some of their favorites, and partly in feeble imitation of the English revolutionists. Meantime, while the mob amused themselves with building barricades in the streets of the capital, playing at civil war, and threatening what great things they would do, the country people, who took no part in any of the movements, were suffering horribly at the hands of bands of nobles and foreign mercenaries, who ravaged the land.

While these disturbances were at their height, the queen mother, with Condé's help, blockaded Paris. A compromise was now effected between the government and the city; but the peace did not last long; the people again rose, Mazarin was forced to go into temporary exile in Germany, and the Paris populace, filled with joy, sang in the streets, —

A Fronde-ly wind
Got up to-day;
'Gainst Mazarin
It howls, they say.

[1] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

But it did not howl long, for the queen mother and Condé quarreled, and he left the city to raise a force in the south against Paris. Anne now declared Louis XIV old enough to rule, and he thus became king in his fourteenth year. Meanwhile Mazarin came back, and Turenne, who for a short time had sided with the Fronde, received command of the royal army. He and Condé had a battle, which by chance resulted in the latter's getting possession of Paris; but, not being able to have his own way in everything, he left the city in disgust and traitorously joined the Spaniards.

Shortly afterward the young king with his mother entered Paris in triumph. A royal edict sentenced the absent Condé to death for treason. A second forbade the Parliament of Paris [1] to discuss affairs of state, which edict they now humbly accepted and registered against themselves.

Thus ignominiously ended the child's play of the Fronde. It had begun by demanding the restraint of the excessive authority of the crown, the recognition of the constitutional rights of the people, and lastly the establishment of parliamentary government after the English model. It failed in everything, and the king caused a statue of himself to be erected, in which he was represented as triumphantly trampling on the helpless people of France. Outside of the royal will there was no government. The king could now arrogantly say, "I am the State." [2]

One of the bright features of these stormy times was the work of the Catholic missionary and philanthropist, Vincent de Paul. He had already distinguished himself by his self-sacrificing labors in nearly every field of benevolent effort. Even the wretched galley slaves found a friend in him when they could find none elsewhere; and he also organized the

[1] See Paragraph 63.

[2] This famous saying, attributed to Louis XIV, has been called in question by some recent writers. Whether true in letter or not, it certainly is in spirit, since the king's entire reign was in accordance with it.

institution of the Sisters of Charity to minister to the sufferings of the destitute sick.

During the civil war of the Fronde he devoted himself to the relief of the multitude of orphan and homeless children perishing in the streets. The poor called him "the agent of Providence," and after his death the pope conferred on him that title of saint which thousands would have gladly voted him during his life.

Peace now reigned at home, but the war with Spain continued until 1659, when the marriage of the king to the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa,[1] put an end to hostilities. Mazarin had long planned this union, in the hope that it would eventually result in annexing the dominions of Spain to France. We shall see later that the marriage was prolific in long-continued wars, which at last brought irrecoverable disaster upon Louis XIV.

145. Colbert succeeds Mazarin; the King becomes his own Minister. — As Richelieu left his friend Mazarin to succeed him, so Mazarin in turn left one of his friends, a provincial governor named Colbert,[2] to take his place. The cardinal had not found his office unprofitable, having accumulated a colossal fortune through it, as report said, by plundering the state. Just before his death in 1661 he said to the king, "Sire, I owe everything to you, but I believe that I pay at least part of the debt in leaving you Colbert."

Colbert, however, notwithstanding his remarkable ability, was not destined to exercise that unquestioned power which Mazarin had possessed. On the news of the cardinal's death, the secretary of state obtained an audience with the king, then twenty-three. "To whom, Sire," he asked, "shall we now apply for instructions?" "To me," replied Louis.

The secretary was astonished, as well he might be, at the idea of the king's taking the management of the government

[1] Theresa (te-ree'sa). [2] Colbert (kol-bêr').

directly into his own hands. But he found, with others, that the will of this young man was destined to be "one of the strongest human elements in the seventeenth century." Louis pursued the new policy not only with respect to the affairs of France, but also with the colonies, and the governor of Canada received orders to make his official reports directly to the crown.

For the next thirty years His Majesty labored as diligently at his task of ruling the state as any peasant did in digging the soil. Every morning Louis began his self-appointed duty, and spent eight full hours in the consideration of public affairs. When urged not to apply himself so closely, he replied, "To rule by work is the true secret of power."

146. Colbert's Reforms in Finance, Industry, Education, and Law. — Louis was able to accomplish so much mainly because he had able and faithful assistants, with Colbert at their head. Colbert had the control not only of the finances, but also of the departments of public works, agriculture, commerce, the royal household, and the navy. Next to the king, he embodied and represented France.

He began his administration by reorganizing the treasury. Where there was confusion, recklessness, waste, and dishonesty he introduced order, economy, integrity. Out of eighty million francs of revenue the king had received only about thirty millions; the rest stuck to the fingers of those who handled it. Colbert stopped this system of public plunder. Each year he presented the king with the budget — an estimate of the expenses and resources of the government.

Thus for the first time the French sovereign knew how his accounts stood. Furthermore, Colbert, instead of increasing the taxes, managed to equalize and reduce them to a degree never before attempted. The result was that the credit of the crown rapidly improved, and the government could borrow money at reasonable rates. This enabled Louis to begin

and carry on those gigantic wars which he was soon to undertake.

In his other departments Colbert displayed equal industry and obtained equal results. He protected and built up home industries. He encouraged better methods of agriculture and introduced new and superior breeds of cattle. He stimulated emigration and trade with the French colonies in America and the Indies. He created the first royal navy in France worthy of the name. He planned and constructed a vast system of roads, bridges, docks, canals, and other public works, one of which, the "Canal of the Two Seas," uniting the waters of the Atlantic with those of the Mediterranean, may be justly regarded as one of the greatest works of that age.[1]

In addition to these undertakings, Colbert showed marked interest in literature, art, and science. He opened the Mazarin Library in Paris to the public. He established schools of painting, sculpture, music, and architecture in the capital and the provinces. He obtained honors and pensions from the king for the most distinguished men of science and letters not only of France, but of foreign countries. "Although the king is not your sovereign," wrote Colbert to Vossius, a learned Protestant divine of Holland, "he chooses to be your benefactor."

Finally, he turned his attention to the revision of the statutes. Through his influence the confused mass of conflicting laws of the realm were systematized and reduced to six improved codes, and some of the most barbarous of the criminal laws were either repealed or modified for the better.

147. Louvois and Vauban. — While Colbert was thus engaged Louvois,[2] minister of war, was putting the army on a more efficient basis. He ordered that each corps should have a distinctive uniform, and substituted the musket armed with that formidable weapon, the bayonet, for the clumsy pike which

[1] It connects the port of Cette on the Mediterranean with Toulouse on the Garonne, and thence with Bordeaux on the Atlantic. [2] Louvois (loo-vwä').

had so long been in use. The aristocratic cavalry had formerly been the chief dependence of the army; but now all was changed, and the foot soldiers, sons of laborers not of lords, came to the front, bayonet in hand.

At the same time Vauban,[1] the ablest civil and military engineer of the age, built a chain of forts[2] on the north-eastern boundary of the kingdom, which henceforth became known as the "Iron Frontier." As France had no adequate port in the north, he converted the shallow haven of Dunkerque[3] into a deep and capacious harbor for the king's men-of-war, and defended it with a line of batteries that, like the "Iron Frontier," defied attack.

In the field Vauban taught the captains how to fight with the spade as well as with the sword. Through his instruction they learned to approach the enemy's works under cover of parallel lines of ditches and intrenchments. In this way he saved France thousands of lives that would otherwise have been sacrificed in the fury of a direct assault.

His method was slow but irresistible. As the boa constrictor tightens his folds round his helpless victim, so Vauban gradually contracted his fatal line of earthworks. Constant practice in besieging fortifications had made him so expert that when he had once dug his trenches in front of the enemy's camp he could generally predict to a day when they would have to surrender. It was said of him that during war he spent his time taking cities for France, and during peace in fortifying them so that they could never be retaken.[4]

[1] Vauban (vō-bŏN′).

[2] This chain of forts was gradually extended until it embraced Lille, Metz, Strasburg, and other important cities, not only on the east, but also on the north.

[3] Dunkerque (dŭN-kĕrk′): on the North Sea, above Calais.

[4] Vauban perfected the bayonet so that it could be kept permanently in place during the battle. Before he made his simple but effective improvement this weapon had been fastened in the muzzle of the musket, and had of course to be removed whenever the gun was fired. Vauban also invented a peculiar system of using artillery, — "ricochet firing," — which he employed in dismounting the enemy's cannon.

148. Absolute Power of the King. — By the help of such men and of his great generals, Turenne, Condé,[1] Luxembourg,[2] and Vendôme,[3] Louis XIV made himself supreme both at home and abroad. In England James I. and his unfortunate son Charles had tried to force the nation to accept the theory that kings reign by divine right,[4] and are in no way directly responsible to their subjects. Charles pushed that monstrous doctrine too far; the long-suffering people rose in revolution, and the king's head rolled in the dust at their feet.

But Louis XIV had no fear of such consequences. In France there was no parliament or assembly to gainsay his will. Now that the Fronde was crushed, all opposition was destroyed. The king's standing army could speedily silence every murmur. Those who dared question his authority soon found an answer to their rashness, in a dungeon, where they were quite likely to spend the rest of their days.

Bossuet,[5] the eloquent court preacher, said: "Kings are gods; they bear on their forehead a divine character. . . . To speak evil of the king is almost equal to blasphemy." Louis believed this as firmly as Bossuet. He considered himself absolute master of Church and State; the whole of France was his property. In his eyes a subject had nothing except what he graciously chose to permit him to retain.

149. Louis builds the Palace of Versailles; his Court. — We have seen that Francis I. originated the court;[6] Louis XIV perfected it. The king did not like Paris as a residence; there were too many statues of preceding kings there to suit him, and besides, the Paris people were turbulent. He did not like St. Germain, which was a short distance out of the city, any better, because from there he saw the towers of

[1] Condé had been pardoned and had returned to his allegiance.
[2] Luxembourg (lüks-ŏN-boor′.)
[3] Vendôme (vŏN-dôm′).
[4] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.
[5] Bossuet (bo-sü-ā′). [6] See Paragraph 98.

St. Denis, the royal burial place, and those towers reminded him that he was mortal.

For these reasons he determined to build a new palace at Versailles, about twelve miles southwest of Paris. Louis XIII had erected a chateau there, which the king took as a nucleus for a colossal structure large enough to accommodate the chief nobility of the realm.

The place was naturally barren and unattractive. Louis transformed it into a magnificent park by transplanting whole groves of forest trees to cover the naked sand, and by constructing immense waterworks, which supplied it with lakes, streams, cascades, and fountains. Such were the surroundings of the new abode of royalty, which cost millions of money, twenty years of continuous labor, and the sacrifice of the lives of regiments of soldiers employed in digging a canal to bring water to the palace.

The palace itself was on a commensurate scale of grandeur. The seemingly endless succession of apartments, galleries, chambers, and corridors were filled with statuary, paintings, mirrors, and tapestry. Everywhere one saw the emblem of the king, — a rising sun illuminating and giving life to the world.

In the palace, four thousand servants waited on Louis and his court; in the stables, there was a stud of five thousand horses; in the barracks, a bodyguard of ten thousand troops. This royal residence was believed to be the envy of all the monarchs of Europe, and La Fontaine wrote his fable of the frog that tried to swell himself up to the size of an ox, and burst in the effort, to ridicule the attempts of other kings to rival Versailles.

150. Life at Versailles. — Here Louis gathered all the men of rank and note of France. Here they lived. The sovereign was the center; the courtiers were planets revolving about him and shining by the reflected light of his splendor.

When the king rose in the morning, it was almost a religious ceremony. The nobles, according to their order of rank, were admitted to witness the spectacle. It was the duty and the privilege of a few to do more. They took part in it. One favored lord handed the king his slippers; another poured out the water for him to wash; a third put on his robe; a fourth arranged his cravat.

All that the king touched was regarded with reverence. If a courtier passed through the royal apartments when Louis was absent, he bowed before the chair or the couch which His Majesty had occupied, as he would before a shrine in a church.

A journal was kept of what the monarch said and did from hour to hour. His physician, who was constantly in attendance, took frequent notes of his health. Among other things that he gravely wrote down was the remarkable fact that the king sometimes caught cold like ordinary mortals! It was currently believed that the touch of the royal hand could cure certain diseases, and on occasions hundreds of poor scrofulous sufferers were brought to the court to be healed.

If constant adulation could have killed the king, he would have died young; for poets, preachers, orators, and historians vied with the nobles and with each other in praising his magnanimity, his glory, and his power. In Paris, bronze and marble statues and portraits of him abounded, and after every great victory some new monument or triumphal arch would be erected to do him honor.

151. Louis XIV's Ability; his Partial Encouragement of Eminent Men. — Yet it must be said to the credit of Louis XIV that all this flattery did not destroy in him certain really great qualities. He never became an idler or a trifler. He knew how to select able men and how to retain them in his service, and none but an able man can do that.

If he exacted the most scrupulous courtesy from all who approached him, he exhibited the same courtesy himself,

and never passed one of his servants without some token of recognition. By nature he possessed remarkable dignity of manner, so that though he was in reality both short and small, he seemed to every one who saw him tall and majestic.[1]

He had that habitual gravity which is said to be the best possible mask for deficiencies. If he was not great, he at least succeeded in making every one believe that he was. France gloried in such a ruler, because in him she saw herself reflected and exalted. He was the embodiment of her pride and of her desire for homage.

Louis liked to feel that he led the civilization of Europe, and that he was the patron of all that was noble in art, literature, or science. He took the title of "Protector of Letters." With his reign, directly or indirectly, are associated many of the most eminent men of genius that the country has produced, — such poets and dramatists as Corneille, Racine, Molière, Boileau, and La Fontaine; such pulpit orators as Bourdaloue, Bossuet, and Massillon; such prose writers as La Bruyère, Fénelon, Rochefoucauld, and Madame de Sévigné; such thinkers as Descartes, Malebranche, and Pascal; such artists as Poussin and Claude Lorraine.[2]

These men were to France what their contemporaries — Milton, Dryden, Newton, Hobbes, and Locke — were to England. But they had this advantage: that at a time when the English writers were hardly known outside the narrow limits of their island, they, on the contrary, were read, not in translation, but in their own language, throughout Europe; and,

[1] See Macaulay's essay on Dumont's Mirabeau, and compare Thackeray's caricature of Louis XIV in The Paris Sketch Book ("Meditations at Versailles").

[2] Corneille (kor-nāv′); Racine (rä-seen′); Molière (mo-le-êr′); Boileau (bwa-lō′). La Fontaine (lä fŏn-tān′); Bourdaloue (boor-dä-loo′); Bossuet (bo′sü-ā′); La Bruyère (lä brü-e-yêr′); Fénelon (fā-nẽh-lŏN′); Rochefoucauld (rosh-foo-kō′); Sévigné (sā-vēn-yā′); Descartes (dā-kärt′); Malebranche (mal-brŏNsh′); Poussin (poo-săN′).

furthermore, that language was used by the diplomats and sovereigns of every civilized court.[1]

In fact, from this time throughout the eighteenth century French educators, men of science, architects, and artists may be fairly said to have done more for the advance of civilization than those of any other nation. So that, at the very time when France was declining politically, she was at the height of her power intellectually.

But there is another side to this royal patronage of eminent men. Louis did not long let the light of his countenance shine on those who opposed his prejudices or forgot to flatter his greatness. Corneille's old age was passed in abject poverty. Pascal narrowly escaped trial for heresy. Fénelon was dismissed from the king's palace in disgrace, because he had the manhood to teach that "the many are not made for the use of the one." Finally, the Society of Port Royal, an association of scholars near Paris, was ruthlessly broken up, and even the bones of their dead thrown out of their graves to the dogs, simply because their Catholicism was different from that favored by the Jesuits and the court.

152. Louis XIV's Plans of Conquest; his Provinces in America. — Louis XIV, however, was not satisfied to be great at home only, but was resolved to be so abroad as well. In fact, his "overvaulting ambition" proved to be the ultimate ruin of the French monarchy. Charles V's empire had, as we have seen,[2] extended over more than two thirds of the civilized

[1] French, it is said, was more familiar to Frederick the Great than his own German tongue. He constantly wrote and corresponded in it. So Catherine II of Russia, Gustavus III of Sweden, and even George II of England used it in conversation and in correspondence. The learned societies of Prussia, Russia, and Italy drew up many of their papers and reports in French; and Leibnitz, the distinguished German philosopher, wrote his greatest work — his "Theodicy" — in that language. At a later date, Franklin and Jefferson both acknowledged the powerful influence of French thought; and the names of Descartes, Pascal, Laplace, Jussieu, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Condorcet, Montesquieu, and Voltaire were justly ranked among the most renowned of the century.

[2] See Paragraph 99.

continent of Europe, embracing Spain, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, and a large part of Italy. Now that the power of Spain had dwindled, Louis resolved to take the late emperor's place. He aspired to rule not a part but the whole of Europe.

More than that even: he proposed establishing an empire in America such as the world had never seen. Already, devoted Jesuit missionaries were exploring Canada and the West, and laboring with Christian zeal and Christian self-sacrifice to convert the Indians. The time too was coming when Marquette[1] and Joliet[2] would venture on the waters of Lake Michigan and of the Mississippi, and when La Salle,[3] floating down that river in his birch-bark canoe to the Gulf of Mexico, would name the whole vast region Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV.[4]

153. First War with Spain in the Netherlands. — On the continent of Europe Louis resolved to begin a series of "political wars." That is, unlike the kings of the early ages, he fought not out of mere love of fighting, or out of jealousy or fear, but chiefly for the glory and legitimate extension of France. His purpose was to reach and hold some natural boundary like the Rhine, or to incorporate some population speaking the French tongue, or lastly to secure some necessary point of defense.

In 1665 an opportunity presented itself, and the king commenced hostilities. In that year Philip IV died, leaving his dominions to Charles II, his son by a second wife. Louis, it will be remembered,[5] had married Maria Theresa, Philip's daughter by his first marriage. He now claimed the Spanish Netherlands[6] as her inheritance by virtue of an old law of those countries, which gave the daughter of a first wife the preference in inheritance over the son by a second wife.[7]

1 Marquette (mär-kĕt′). 2 Jol′e-et (English pronunciation).
3 La Salle (lä säl′).
4 See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.
5 See Paragraph 144.
6 See Paragraph 90. 7 The Law or Right of Devolution.

Charles refused to acknowledge the claim of Louis. War ensued. Then the Protestant powers of England, Holland, and Sweden, fearing the extension of the French power and the Catholic faith through the success of France, compelled Louis to make peace at Aix-la-Chapelle (1668).

But Louis managed, nevertheless, to retain possession of a number of frontier towns in Flanders, and Vauban fortified them so strongly that there was not much probability that they could be retaken. Thus, notwithstanding his apparent failure, the French sovereign had now obtained a firm foothold in the coveted territory.

154. Second War with Spain; War with Holland. — Two years later, by the infamous secret treaty of Dover,[1] Louis bought over Charles II of England, who henceforth bound himself to do his will as far as he dared. He likewise succeeded in inducing Sweden to withdraw from the alliance. Now that England and Sweden were disposed of, the way was clear. The king resolved to overrun Holland, conquer the people, and punish them for presuming to thwart his plans against Spain. That done, he could easily subjugate the Spanish Netherlands, which lay between Holland and France. If successful in this attempt, he would thus extend the northern limits of his kingdom far beyond the Rhine.

In 1672 Louis, commanding in person an army of a hundred thousand men, began a campaign with such generals as Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and the indispensable Vauban to aid him. In less than six weeks his force had got possession of most of the country, and were in sight of Amsterdam, its chief city. Jean de Witt, then governor of Holland, who with his brother Cornelius constituted the real head of the republican party, believing further resistance futile, begged for peace. Louis sent back the messengers with an insulting refusal; and the enraged populace, imagining that the De Witts were traitors, attacked them, and tore them to pieces.

[1] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

155. Louis XIV versus William of Orange; French Acquisitions. — William of Orange, who later became King William III of England, now had command of the Dutch force. Germany and Spain coöperated with him, and with their help he for six years kept up the struggle for the independence of the Dutch Republic and for Protestant freedom, against the determined efforts of Louis to destroy them.

In his extremity, William, like his great ancestor William the Silent, made an ally of the ocean. The dikes of Holland were cut, and the waters swept over the country around Amsterdam, compelling the French to fall back to higher ground.

But Louis would not give up his attempt. The fight went on by both land and sea. Battle after battle was waged, in one of which the king lost Turenne, his greatest general. At length, worn out by the conflict, both sides desired peace, and the Treaty of Nimeguen[1] was signed in 1678.

Louis had conquered neither Holland nor the coveted Spanish Netherlands; but in the course of the war he had secured many places of importance in the latter territory,[2] and had also forced Spain to give him, on the east, the important county of Burgundy, or Franche Comté,[3] as it was called.

In honor of these successes, the authorities of Paris erected the magnificent triumphal arches of St. Denis and St. Martin;[4] and in 1680 they voted that the king should receive the title of the "Grand Monarch."

156. Misery of France; Death of Colbert. — But at the very time when the exultant citizens of the French capital were decreeing their king the title of "Grand Monarch," the period of

[1] Nimeguen (nim′ā-gen).

[2] In all, Louis gained thirty-four cities on the east and north, of which Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Luxembourg, and Strasburg were the principal.

[3] Franche Comté (frŏNsh-kŏN-tā′). See Map No. XII, page 238. It was formerly called the county of Burgundy, and lay east of the duchy of that name, with which it should not be confounded, the duchy having been incorporated with France in the reign of Louis XI. See Paragraph 90.

[4] St. Denis (săN-dnē′); St. Martin (săN mär-tăN′).

decline had set in. Though in the grandeur of his court, the eminence of his circle of noted men, and his general influence, Louis stood at the head of European civilization, though it was through France that the continent then received its lessons in culture and in thought, yet France itself was losing. The government resembled a gilded statue of decaying wood — outwardly splendid, but crumbling to dust within.

The long-continued wars had killed off thousands of men in their prime, had drained the country of resources, and had so increased the taxes that the peasantry were in a state of the most pitiable destitution.

Even Colbert, with all his ingenuity, confessed that he no longer knew where to turn for money. La Bruyère[1] described the farm laborers as "ferocious animals." "Black, livid, sunburnt, they are seen," he says, "forever grubbing in the earth: they seem to have an articulate voice; and when they stand erect they exhibit human features; but they live like beasts."

When Louis was asked to give something to relieve the want of these poor creatures, he replied, "Kings give by spending." The answer was not really as heartless as it sounds, but it showed that he had no true realization of the misery of the people. But official accounts soon informed him. He was told that thirty thousand peasants in one province were "obliged to eat weeds and the vilest refuse," and that "many women and children have been found dead on the roads and in the fields, with their mouths full of grass." Archbishop Fénelon wrote to the king: "Your people are perishing by famine. The whole of France is simply a great hospital, and a hospital without food."

Even Vauban, though his trade was war, and he was hardened to scenes of suffering, was so impressed with the misery of the lower classes that he petitioned the king in their behalf. Louis was indignant at the general's presumption. He called

[1] La Bruyère: see Paragraph 151.

him "that philanthropic lunatic," and ordered the petition to be nailed to the pillory.[1]

Colbert did not fare much better. His death in 1683 was probably hastened by the embarrassment of his situation and the bitter reproaches of Louis, who was grievously disappointed because his faithful servant could not raise more money. "If I had served God as I have this man," cried the dying minister, "I should have been saved ten times over; now I don't know what is to become of me."

157. Precarious State of the Nobility; Wearisomeness of Court Life. — The nobility lived in seeming magnificence at Versailles, but to many of them the palace was little more than a splendid prison. They did not dare to remain away from the court, since their doing so would rouse suspicion of their loyalty. Their estates suffered by their absence. Their overseers took advantage of them, and the returns they made were constantly diminishing.

On the other hand, the expenses of the nobles at court were always on the increase. Those whose income was small had to spend everything, and then they ran in debt to keep up appearances. The more precarious their position, the more dependent they were. Two resources only were open to them: one was the king's favor, the other, the gambling table. Just in proportion as they grew more helpless, Louis grew more exacting and despotic.

The proudest lord at his court knew that he was completely in the king's power: a word or a look might raise or might ruin him. At the royal receptions, which were held daily and lasted for hours, no one ventured to sit in the sovereign's presence even for a moment. There stood the crowd of courtiers, silent, weary, expectant; always on the watch for opportunities, offices, and pensions. Some, indeed, were so anxious that

[1] The pillory: a platform on which offenders were exposed to public insult and abuse.

they hardly dared sleep, lest they should miss getting some coveted position. "At what hour shall I call your lordship?" asked the servant of the Duke of Noailles.[1] "At ten o'clock, if no one dies meanwhile," replied the duke; "but should any one happen to die, call me early, so that I can beg his place."

When we reflect that this court etiquette was never relaxed, that this scramble for office was always going on, we cannot wonder that it ended in utter weariness and disgust. There were times, indeed, when even Louis XIV was glad to escape the bondage of pomp and ceremony, and snatch a few hours of relaxation in the society of one or two chosen favorites. Madame de Maintenon,[2] whom the king had privately married in 1684, shortly after the death of the queen, wrote to her brother that she was worn out with life in the palace. "Save those who fill the highest stations," said she, "I know of none more unfortunate than those that envy them."

158. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; Persecution of the Huguenots; the Camisards; Propositions of Bossuet. — As if the prosperity and welfare of France had not been sufficiently undermined, Louis now decided to strike the country a blow from which it is doubtful if it has ever fully recovered.

We have seen that Henry IV, by the Edict of Nantes,[3] granted the Huguenots civil rights and liberty of worship, a policy which Richelieu and Mazarin, though they were zealous Catholics, continued. Louis, however, had no sympathy with that policy. There was a democratic element in Calvinism which he feared, and, in common with many leading men of his day, he believed that it was unsafe to tolerate a different religion from that maintained by the state. He had tried to buy over the Huguenots, but not having made all the progress he desired, he resolved to employ force.

[1] Noailles (no-ä′y′).
[2] Madame de Maintenon (deh măN-teh-nôN′).
[3] Edict of Nantes: see Paragraph 132.

In this determination he was warmly seconded by Madame de Maintenon. She had been brought up a Calvinist, but had early abjured that faith and joined the Catholics. She was eager to compel her former fellow-Protestants to follow her example. Her influence over the king was immense; and she, with his Jesuit confessor, Père La Chaise,[1] urged him to make amends for his past life of profligacy by uprooting the Huguenot heresy.

Thus urged, the king signed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the autumn of 1685. He ordered the Huguenot churches to be destroyed and the Huguenot ministers to leave the realm within fifteen days, at the same time forbidding the members of their congregations to follow them. Those ministers who refused to go suffered death; while, on the other hand, those Huguenots who attempted to escape from France with their exiled pastors were pursued, and if caught, cast into loathsome dungeons or sent to the more terrible punishment of the galleys.[2]

In order to compel the Protestants to abandon their faith, Louvois[3] had recommended the king to quarter the dragoons — the most brutal class of French soldiers — in their houses, giving the men full permission to harass and insult the families with whom they stopped. These "missionaries in cavalry boots," as they were then jocosely styled, had been employed for some time before the revocation of the edict, and had perpetrated such cruelties that many thousands embraced the Catholic faith merely to get rid of their persecutors. The king, who probably did not know the atrocities of these "dragonnades," as they were called, was induced to continue them, in the belief that soon not a Calvinist would be left "unconverted."

[1] Père La Chaise (pair lä shăz′): his name is perpetuated in the great cemetery of Père La Chaise, Paris, which was formerly a Jesuit estate under his control.

[2] Galleys: see Paragraph 104.

[3] Louvois: see Paragraph 147.

After the Edict of Nantes was repealed, the dragoons set to work with renewed ardor, torturing their victims to a degree just short of actual murder. They hanged peasants, head downward, in their chimneys; they inflicted horrible outrages on the women; they tore babes from their mothers' arms, bound them to posts, and compelled the mothers to choose between renouncing their religion or seeing their infants slowly starved to death. The result of this system of persecution was to force multitudes of Huguenots to leave their native land forever. Those who lived in the vicinity of seaports secreted themselves on board vessels bound for some foreign country; and although many were smoked out of their hiding places or suffocated in them by the fumes of burning sulphur, still great numbers escaped.

Others managed to slip across the frontier into the neighboring states. So despite all the vigilance of the government, several hundred thousand — some estimates say half a million — succeeded in fleeing to England, Germany, Holland, and America. Twenty thousand settled in Berlin, and great numbers in London. They carried with them the knowledge of trades and manufactures, such as silk weaving and watch making, which France had nearly or wholly monopolized. The Huguenots now established these and other branches of industry in England and elsewhere, greatly to the detriment of the dominions of Louis.

The king had, in fact, driven out a host of his most thrifty, intelligent, and loyal subjects. Among them were many who were eminent in art, science, letters, and arms; for the Huguenots were, to a great extent, not only the bone and sinew, but the brain and conscience, of the land; so that the queen of Sweden well might say of Louis XIV's suicidal act, "He has cut off his left arm with his right."

The sufferings of these exiles excited pity in every country where they sought refuge and protection. Hearty welcome and

assistance greeted them in all Protestant countries. They and their descendants became the inflexible enemies of political and religious tyranny. The Huguenots did much toward establishing the cause of liberty in England and on the continent. "They manned the ships which destroyed Louis XIV's navy." Last of all, at a later period, they distinguished themselves in both legislating and fighting for American independence.[1]

But not all the Huguenots were willing to suffer without resistance. In the mountains of the Cévennes[2] and at other points in the south, the Camisards,[3] who were to France what the Covenanters were to Scotland, rose in revolt. Later, this insurrection became serious, and it was not finally put down till more than a hundred thousand had perished in the civil war.

But if Louis treated the Protestants with such intolerance, he none the less refused to submit to the decree of the pope. The king claimed the right to appoint priests to parishes in those dioceses which were without a bishop, and also to manage the affairs of the diocese until the new bishop should have taken the oath of allegiance. The pope denied this power. Louis called a council of the chief clergy of France. Bossuet preached the opening sermon, and declared that as the ocean has its limits, so too the papacy must have. Then at the request of his council he drew up four articles (1682) which virtually established the independence of the Catholic

[1] Most of Louis XIV's military leaders in the middle of the seventeenth century were Huguenots. Turenne, the king's ablest general, had been a Protestant, but was converted to Catholicism by the arguments of the eloquent and learned Bossuet. In American history we find such well-known Huguenot names as Peter Faneuil, Paul Revere, General Marion, and three of the presidents of the Continental Congress, — Elias Boudinot, Henry Laurens, and John Jay.

[2] Cévennes (sā-vĕn'): on the border of Languedoc, in the south of France.

[3] Camisards: so called from the *camisade*, or white shirt or jacket which the insurrectionists wore in order to recognize each other at night.

Church of France, so far as the supremacy of the pope is concerned.[1]

159. War with England; Peace of Ryswick. — Three years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1688) Louis found to his cost that he had driven the Calvinists from France only to rouse against himself their great leader, William of Orange, who had now, by the English revolution and the flight of James II, become king of England.[2] Louis became involved in a war with England, in which he endeavored to force that nation to restore the cowardly James to the throne he had disgraced and abandoned. William found ready assistance from the enemies of France, and a grand alliance was formed by England, Holland, Austria, and Spain against that country.

At the decisive battle of the Boyne, fought in Ireland in 1690, the combined forces of James II and of Louis XIV were hopelessly beaten.[3] The French king furthermore had learned to his chagrin that a regiment of Huguenot refugees, commanded by Marshal Schomberg, one of the French king's former generals and himself a Huguenot, contributed toward his defeat. Thus soon had retribution begun. Louis next planned an attack on England by sea; but his fleet, after a terrible battle off Cape La Hogue,[4] was forced to retreat, and

[1] The Four Propositions of Bossuet declared: (1) That the pope has no jurisdiction in temporal things. (2) That in spiritual matters the general councils of the Church are to be considered the supreme authority. (3) That the established rules and usages of the Church of France are not to be changed by the pope. (4) That the decrees of the pope in matters of doctrine require to be confirmed by the Church.

Later, a compromise was effected between the pope and Louis XIV; but the Propositions are generally considered to still represent the attitude of the French Catholic Church in great measure, though the tendency is to soften and qualify rather than emphasize the principles they express. See also Paragraph 92, note 3.

[2] The intolerance and despotism of James II of England brought on the revolution of 1688. James fled to Louis XIV for protection, and henceforth resided in France. William of Orange, who married James's daughter Mary, now became king of England by act of Parliament.

[3] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

[4] Cape La Hogue: on the east coast of the department of La Manche, in northern France, on the English Channel. Care must be taken not to confound it with Cape La Hague, at the extremity of the peninsula of La Manche.

the French admiral had to burn his ships to prevent their capture by the English.

Meantime the French force invaded the Palatinate, a Protestant province of Germany, on the Rhine. They ravaged the country with fire and sword. The homeless and starving inhabitants were driven out to beg their bread, leaving behind them the smoking ruins of what had once been populous and thriving cities. Louis gained several important victories in the Netherlands; but the war as a whole was not in his favor, and his losses were so heavy that in 1697 he was glad to sign the Peace of Ryswick.[1] By this treaty he was obliged to renounce his efforts to restore James II to the English throne, to acknowledge his hated rival, William of Orange, as the legitimate king of England, and to give up the cities he had taken in the Netherlands, with his other conquests beyond the Rhine.

160. War of the Spanish Succession; Peace of Utrecht. — But peace was not to be of long duration. In 1701 Louis began a new war, called the War of the Spanish Succession, which lasted for nearly fourteen years.

We have seen that Mazarin planned the king's marriage with Maria Theresa, daughter of the king of Spain,[2] in the belief that in time his master would become ruler of that country by the union of the two crowns. This now seemed likely to be accomplished, for the king of Spain had died childless and had left the throne to a grandson of Louis, which was practically nearly the same as if he had left it to Louis himself. In his exultation at the prospect, the French monarch exclaimed, "The Pyrenees are no more"; for in imagination he now saw all barriers leveled, and Spain henceforth a dependency of France.

But his joy was premature. England, Holland, Prussia, and the empire of Germany felt that they had a word to say in this

[1] Ryswick (rĭz′wĭk): a village of Holland. [2] See Paragraph 144.

matter. They resolved that France should gain no new territory and no increase of power.[1] At Blenheim, in Bavaria, the English Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene,[2] gained a decisive victory over Louis with his ally, the Elector of Bavaria.

As Alison says, the blow struck there "resounded through every part of Europe." Great as some of the French king's generals were, they had now found one greater than themselves; for Voltaire declares that Marlborough "never besieged a city that he did not take, or fought a battle that he did not win."

Blenheim was followed by French reverses in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Marlborough broke through Vauban's boasted "Iron Frontier," and entered France itself.[3] Then came the terrible winter of 1708–1709, such a winter as had never been known in the history of the country. Even the olive trees in the south were killed by the severity of the cold. The king's servants begged in the streets of Paris, and Madame de Maintenon and the dainty nobles of the court were glad to get even black bread to eat. Louis was in such need of money that he sold a service of gold plate to raise a few hundred thousand francs.

Then death entered the palace, and the proud king lost his only son. He was now a childless old man, and the world had turned against him; but he did not lose his composure or sacrifice his dignity. He was greater in adversity than he had ever been before. In 1712 a dispatch from Marshal Villars informed the king that his troops had gained the battle of Denain on the frontier. This victory rendered France secure and hastened the Peace of Utrecht,[4] which was concluded in 1713.

[1] See Paragraph 100.

[2] Prince Eugene of Savoy. He led the forces of the German emperor.

[3] Gaining the great victories of Ramillies and Oudenarde, and the indecisive battle of Malplaquet.

[4] Utrecht (ū'trĕkt): in Holland.

The chief terms of the treaty were: (1) Louis XIV's grandson was left on the throne of Spain,[1] though all thoughts of uniting that country to France were renounced; Austria received the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) as a barrier between Holland and France; (2) the fortresses of the frontier were to be garrisoned by the Dutch as a perpetual check on France; (3) Louis bound himself to recognize the Protestant succession to the throne of England,[2] and to send James II's son, the "Pretender," out of France;[3] (4) Louis gave up Newfoundland, Hudson Bay Territory, and Acadia[4] (Nova Scotia) to England; (5) finally, Louis agreed to demolish the magnificent fortifications of Dunkerque which Vauban had constructed at such enormous cost.[5]

161. Death of the King. — Two years later (1715) Louis XIV died. The last part of his long reign of over threescore and ten years had been as gloomy as the first was glorious. Everything he had depended upon had failed. His armies were no more. His navy was reduced to a few battered hulks. He had lost a part of his North American possessions. His treasury was empty, his people desperate. The son and grandson he had counted on to perpetuate his grandeur were in their graves. His successor was only a feeble child, not likely to live to wear the crown.

But Louis met death like a king. There was no repining. He met it alone: that is, with no person that he cared for

[1] The allies had wished to make the archduke of Austria king of Spain, but he had now become emperor of Germany, and the allies did not desire to increase his power by giving him the Spanish crown, but preferred leaving Louis' grandson in possession of it.

[2] That is, the exclusion of a Catholic from the English throne. — a provision made by Parliament after the flight of James II.

[3] So called because he claimed the crown of England.

[4] On the expulsion of the French settlers of Acadia by the English in 1755, see Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline"; but compare Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, and see The Leading Facts of American History in this series.

[5] See Paragraph 147.

near him. His Jesuit confessor, Le Tellier,[1] had left Versailles at the last, when he saw that Louis' sun was setting never to rise again. Madame de Maintenon too had gone: priest and wife were both heartless.

When the news reached Paris that Louis was no more, the city could not contain itself for joy. All along the road leading to the royal tomb at St. Denis, the people set up tents and booths. There they drank and sang over their deliverance from a king whom they had ceased to take pride in, and over the fall of the hated Le Tellier, who was soon to go into exile. There they waited to see the corpse of the "Grand Monarch" pass by, and to curse it as it passed.

No one has summed up the reign better than Guizot. He says, "The government of Louis XIV was a great fact, a powerful and brilliant fact, but it was built upon sand."

162. Louis XV (1715); Alliance against Spain; Education of the Prince. — The new king, Louis XV, was five years old. He inherited from his great-grandfather, Louis XIV, a realm whose peasantry could scarcely get food sufficient to keep themselves alive, and burdened with a debt of nearly two thousand five hundred millions of francs.[2]

During the king's minority, the Duke of Orléans, a good-natured profligate, acted as regent. From personal reasons, the duke formed an alliance with England and Holland. Subsequently a quadruple alliance was formed between England, Holland, Austria, and France against the schemes of Spain to get control of the French crown.

The young prince was educated in the same ideas of arbitrary power that Louis XIV had cherished. It is said that

[1] Le Tellier (leh tĕl-le-ā'): he was the successor of Père La Chaise (see Paragraph 158). Some writers represent him as remaining with the king until the end, but Martin (Histoire de France, XIV, 614) says explicitly that he did not.

[2] Five hundred million dollars, or, reckoned according to the present value of money, over one billion dollars.

DEATH OF LOUIS XIV

his teacher, an eminent abbé,[1] was one day reading to him a chapter of French history in which the death of a king was incidentally mentioned. The prince interrupted him with an expression of astonishment. "What," said he, "do you mean to say that kings die?" "Well, — Your Highness, — yes, — *sometimes*," was the hesitating and politic reply. The anecdote, whether literally true or not, is at least truthful, and illustrates the exalted conception of royalty characteristic of the time.

But if the heir to the throne had no practical idea of the facts of his situation, there were those who had. The Duke of Orléans knew that the first and most pressing need to be met was a supply of money. As a half-starving people did not seem likely to yield much, even to the most grinding and heartless body of tax collectors, the prospect was not encouraging.

163. Law's Financial Scheme. — At this juncture (1715) a Scotchman named John Law came forward with a brilliant expedient for relieving the necessities of the government. His plan was to open a bank connected with the state, in which paper should do the duty of gold and silver. He started the enterprise with an imaginary capital of six million francs. By issuing small notes which were promptly redeemed in specie, and by other shrewd management, Law soon created confidence in the undertaking, and those who had money to invest eagerly bought stock. The government now gave its sanction to this "going concern" by granting it a charter as a royal bank, and issuing orders that its notes should be accepted in payment of taxes, customhouse duties, and the like.

To this government bank Law joined an organization called the Mississippi Company, which promised to make its shareholders "rich beyond the dreams of avarice." The valley of

[1] Abbé (ȧb′bā): originally an abbot or head of a monastery; but later, a title given to a professor or private tutor who had studied theology.

the Mississippi was currently reported to be full of mines of gold and silver, and every greedy or needy Frenchman was invited by this company to come forward and get his share of the superabounding wealth.

As if all this was not enough, Law next proceeded to absorb an African and a West Indian trading scheme, in order that the Mississippi Company might enjoy a complete monopoly of colonial speculation. This new project was hailed with such enthusiasm by a confiding public, that Law now seriously proposed undertaking the payment of the national debt, just as the directors of the South Sea Company were proposing to do in England about the same time.[1]

Such was the desire to invest that the stock rapidly rose in value until it finally reached forty times its par value, and a share selling originally for five hundred francs ($100) brought no less than twenty thousand ($4000)!

Even at this price it was impossible to satisfy the demand. Law's house in Paris was besieged day and night by people of all ranks. Noblemen, bishops, ladies of the court, petty tradesmen, and even servants who had saved up enough to purchase a single share, blocked the passage leading to the door of this wonderful Scotch magician, who was believed to have discovered an easy and universal road to fortune.

At last the excitement reached such a pitch that Law himself became alarmed at the prospect. He tried in vain to check the mad speculation by reducing the excessive issue of paper money. But it was too late. The gilded bubble he had blown by means of his national bank kept on expanding until it suddenly burst.

Law, who seems to have been honest, and to have thoroughly believed in his enterprise, suffered with the rest, and just managed to escape from France with his life. Multitudes found themselves hopelessly ruined. The government

[1] See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.

extricated itself, in a measure, by repudiating a large portion of its obligations, as it had done once before and would do again.

This convenient way of paying off national creditors led a wit of that day to define the French monarchy as "an institution that has the privilege of going into bankruptcy when it pleases." But even this bright saying did not restore the country to good humor, though it may have helped it, in some degree, to bear its losses.

164. Accession of Louis XV; War of the Polish Succession. — When, in 1723, at the ripe age of thirteen, Louis XV began to rule, he gave little promise of good. He was by nature and by education a true Bourbon, one of that family who (Henry IV excepted) were to France what the narrow-minded and tyrannical Stuarts were to England, and of whom Napoleon said that "they never forgot and never learned anything."

One of his first acts was to renew that Huguenot persecution which had already crippled France so seriously.[1] Following this, a number of years later, the young king engaged in a war with the emperor of Germany, in order to force that monarch to reinstate his father-in-law[2] on the throne of Poland. The emperor, however, compromised the matter by giving the duchy of Lorraine to the expelled king, with the provision that at his death it should fall to his daughter, the queen of France, and so become part of Louis' dominion.[3]

165. War of the Austrian Succession; Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; Commercial Prosperity. — But in 1740, when the Emperor Charles VI died, a new and much more formidable war broke out. This concerned the succession to the throne

[1] See Paragraph 158.

[2] Louis XV had married the daughter of a Polish nobleman, who later became king of that country, but was driven from the throne by the Emperor Charles VI of Austria.

[3] The duchy of Bar, joining Lorraine on the west, was included with it in the emperor's grant. France had made conquests of part of Lorraine under Louis XIV, but first obtained full and undisputed possession of it by this treaty.

of Austria. Some years before his death the emperor had left that kingdom by will to his daughter, Maria Theresa. To this arrangement all Europe agreed at the time; but as soon as Charles breathed his last, no less than six claimants came forward, each demanding the whole or some part of the kingdom.

Maria Theresa had plenty of law documents, duly signed, sealed, and witnessed, to prove her right to the crown; but as one of the claimants, Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, said, it would have been better for her if the queen's father had "left her fewer papers and more fighting-men."

Nearly all civilized Europe now took sides in this dispute, which nothing short of cannon could effectually settle. George II of England headed an army in favor of the young queen. France took the opposite course, and sent one against her. The struggle which now began (1741) took the name of the War of the Austrian Succession. It lasted seven years. At Dettingen[1] (1743) George II, who was the last English king who fought in person, drove the French in headlong flight before his impetuous charge.

Then Louis XV, in imitation of the English monarch, took the field himself. He fell sick, however, and did nothing; but notwithstanding this drawback, if it could be considered one, his force gained a great victory over the English at Fontenoy (1745).[2] The next year the French took Brussels, and soon made themselves masters of the Austrian Netherlands, as the country between France and Holland was now called.[3] The next year the most important fortresses of Holland fell into the hands of Louis. In other quarters, however, the French met with reverses, and in 1748 peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. Maria Theresa was recognized as ruler of Austria;[4] and as each party to the war gave back the territory it had

[1] Dettingen (dĕt'tĭng-ẹn): a village in Bavaria.
[2] Fontenoy (fŏN-tẹn-wä): a village of Belgium.
[3] See Paragraph 160 (Peace of Utrecht).
[4] Except Silesia, which Frederick of Prussia had seized, and continued to hold.

conquered, France came out of the contest with nothing but loss — loss of life, money, and commerce.

Eight peaceful and comparatively prosperous years ensued. During this period the French colonies in the East and West Indies and in America made much progress, which served as an offset in considerable degree for the disasters and losses of the late war. The cities of Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Nantes profited greatly by this revival of colonial trade, and the whole country was beginning to feel the good effects of it when a new war broke out which left France far worse off than before.

166. The Seven Years' War; France loses America and India. — The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had been made hurriedly, and simply covered up with fair words the hatred smoldering between Austria and Prussia, and between France and England. Maria Theresa had been forced to give up part of her dominions to Frederick the Great in the late war, and she hoped that, by making an alliance with France and the other powers, she might get back her own with interest. That interest was nothing less than the partition of the kingdom of Prussia among its enemies.

On the other side of the Atlantic, France was already embroiled with England in what was called in America the French and Indian War (1755). But though unprepared to take part in a fresh European contest, the influence of the king's favorite, the beautiful but unscrupulous Madame de Pompadour,[1] who had got Louis completely under her control, decided him to join her friend Maria Theresa in her attempt to dismember Prussia. Frederick the Great formed an alliance with England, and the war formally began.

The real interest of this period centers, however, so far as France is concerned, in her struggle with England in America and in the East, since on it hung the destiny of India on the one hand, and of the American colonies on the other.

[1] Pompadour (pôn-pa-door').

France and England were now in fact the two chief rivals for the possession of the New World, as well as for that of the great Asiatic peninsula of India. In America, England occupied the Atlantic seacoast from Maine to the borders of Florida.

Under the leadership of the descendants of the Pilgrims, the Puritans, and the Cavaliers, she was now engaged in building up a new England and a greater Britain. But France, on her part, had not been idle. Although in previous wars she had lost Newfoundland, Acadia or Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, with Louisburg,[1] she still claimed an enormous territory. The two greatest rivers of the country — the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence — were both hers by right of exploration, with the regions which they watered. By virtue of this claim she held Canada in the north and the vast territory then called Louisiana[2] in the south and west.

To defend these possessions, France had already begun a chain of over sixty forts extending from Quebec to the Great Lakes, thence to the Mississippi and to New Orleans.[3] Furthermore, the French had now begun a second and interior line of forts, designed to prevent English colonists from settling the valley of the Ohio.[4]

If they succeeded in their project, the English would be shut in between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. France would then hold all the best part of the continent. In time she hoped that it would be peopled by her sons, who would speak her language and acknowledge her authority. Her forces would then probably be able to expel the English from

[1] Cape Breton with Louisburg had, however, been restored to her by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).

[2] See Paragraph 152. Louisiana then practically embraced the whole country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries; in other words, about a third of what is now the United States.

[3] This line of forts may be traced now by Quebec, Montreal, Ogdensburg, Detroit, Toledo, Fort Wayne, Vincennes, Natchez, and New Orleans.

[4] See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.

the narrow strip that had been temporarily left to them, and the French flag would float unchallenged over the magnificent empire of New France.

The contest in America, therefore, was not for the present only, but for the future. It was a war of races, and the prize was the grandest and richest continent on the globe. After more than four years of fighting, the death struggle came in 1759, before the gates of Quebec.

Montcalm, one of the noblest and bravest generals of France, fought to hold the city; Wolfe, the English commander, a man of equal merit, fought to wrest it from him. Both were killed in the terrible battle which ensued, and both died as only heroes can. Quebec fell. Four years later (1763) the Treaty of Paris was made. By that treaty France had to give up everything. Of all her boasted possessions in America she now retained absolutely nothing that she could call her own, except two barren little islands off Newfoundland which were given her to dry fish on.[1]

That memorable treaty settled the fact that America was not to be a dependency of France, but that it was to become the home of the greater part of the English-speaking race, destined to establish themselves, in the course of the next twenty years, as a free and independent nation.

While this important question was being determined, a similar contest was going on in India. After a number of battles, the British force, under Clive, gained the decisive victory of Plassy (1757), by which the French were subsequently driven from the country, and England thus secured her empire in the East.[2]

In Europe the Seven Years' War was not favorable to Louis and his allies. Frederick the Great, with some slight help from

[1] France gave Great Britain all of the country east of the Mississippi, and to her ally, Spain, all west of that river, including New Orleans. The islands received by France were Miquelon and St. Pierre, off the south coast of Newfoundland. [2] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

England, came out of the contest triumphant. Prussia was not dismembered; but, to the humiliation of Louis and the vexation of Madame de Pompadour and Maria Theresa, it rose to be one of the most important kingdoms of Europe.

167. Suppression of the Jesuits. — Meanwhile an event of no small significance occurred in France. For many years there had been a strong feeling against the Jesuits. The Huguenots detested them for the part they had taken in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes[1] and the frightful persecution of the Protestants that followed. The great body of French Catholics distrusted their political policy and believed them hostile to the best interests of the country.

In the previous reign Cardinal Richelieu had condemned several pamphlets published by Jesuit Fathers, on the ground that they were subversive of the royal authority, and finally caused one of their books to be publicly burned, because it taught that the pope has the right to depose bad or incompetent kings.

But the most terrible blow to the power of the Jesuits was given by Pascal[2] in his "Provincial Letters." He attacked their moral teachings. The wit, the reasoning, the ridicule with which that great writer assailed the order was more destructive to them than all Louis XIV's "dragonnades" — or persecution by the dragoons — had been to the Huguenots.[3] Under Louis XV the hostility to the Jesuits reached its height. Men forgot the self-sacrificing labors of the Fathers of an earlier period, — the missionaries,[4] teachers, explorers, and philanthropists the order had sent forth, — and thought of them only as men who tampered with conscience and were secretly hostile to liberty.

[1] See Paragraph 158.

[2] See Paragraph 151.

[3] See Paragraph 158.

[4] See Parkman's Jesuits in North America for an account of the labors of the Jesuit missionaries in this country, and see The Student's American History in this series.

In 1761 the Parliament of Paris formally declared the Jesuits an organization dangerous to the state and one tending to "the subversion of all authority." The result was the suppression of the order in France and its virtual expulsion. Spain followed the example of the French parliament, and finally, in 1773, Pope Clement XIV, urged by nearly all the sovereigns of Europe, solemnly abolished the society, declaring "that for the welfare of Christendom it was best that the order should be dissolved." [1] Had this action been taken a century earlier, it might perhaps have saved France the loss of a large part of her Protestant population, and spared her the retribution that loss entailed.[2]

168. Abolition of Parliaments; Arbitrary Imprisonment. — In 1771 the king took a step which destroyed what little political liberty the nation still possessed. Richelieu and Louis XIV, though they humbled the nobility and practically ruled France according to their own will and pleasure, still left the parliaments [3] some small degree of power. Louis XV, angry because they would not submit entirely to him, now suppressed them, and sent into exile or to prison seven hundred of their members.

Thus, at one blow, the last vestige of self-government was overthrown. Henceforth the people of Paris and the provinces could not even record a formal protest against tyranny. The king rejoiced in having at last silenced all opposition. But he had done so as a madman might silence the roar of escaping steam from a boiler by tying down the safety valve. There was quiet, indeed, but it was of that ominous sort which precedes an explosion.

But Louis XV was reckless of danger. He knew the government was tottering; but, as he said, with a cynical smile, "It

[1] By a brief of the pope issued in 1814, the legal existence of the Society of the Jesuits was restored. They subsequently became prominent in France as educators and religious teachers, especially under Louis Napoleon. Since the establishment of the Republic they have been again expelled (1880).

[2] See Paragraph 158. [3] See Paragraph 63.

will last my day." Nothing was now really safe. The king had no respect for the property or the liberty of his subjects. Thousands of citizens were cast into prison and left there for years, not only without so much as the form of a trial, but even without being charged with any offense. Any person obnoxious to Louis or to any one in authority might be arrested on a private royal warrant [1] and hurried off to a dungeon of the Bastile. No one knew whither he had disappeared. The grave could not have kept its secret better. Wife and children might mourn him as dead, for it was doubtful if they ever again beheld him.

In time the issue of these warrants became a regular trade, the whole number granted during the reign reaching one hundred and fifty thousand. They could always be purchased by the highest bidder, since the king signed them in blank and distributed them liberally to his favorites.

If a man had an enemy, or even a troublesome creditor that he wished to get rid of, nothing was easier, providing he could pay for it. A few hundred francs, or even less, would get an order for his secret incarceration; and if the payments were repeated often enough, the unfortunate prisoner might perhaps never again see the light of day except through the bars of his cell.

Sometimes, however, these facilities for putting people out of the way were found by those who employed them to have the disadvantage of working both ways. It is said that an influential nobleman walking down the street in Paris met the young and pretty wife of a tradesman of his acquaintance; her eyes were sparkling with joy. "Ah, Jeanette," said he, "I see that you are in good spirits this morning." "Well, your lordship, I have reason to be," she answered; "for I have just bought a royal warrant which will put that brute of a husband of mine where he deserves to be."

[1] Technically called a *lettre de cachet* (let-tr dǝh kà-shā'), a warrant in the form of a letter sealed with the royal seal.

Two years later the same nobleman chanced to meet Jeanette again. But how changed! She was now bent, emaciated, haggard, and could but just drag herself along. "Why, my poor girl," said he, "what has happened to you; I thought you had locked up your husband and were happy?" "Alas, my lord," said the unfortunate woman, "he was too quick for me. I had paid a round sum for my warrant and was going for it the next day; but he chanced to hear of it, and by offering more, got one for me instead, and I have been in the Bastile ever since."

169. The Compact of Famine. — With all his defects, Louis XIV had possessed the merit of at least trying to exalt the greatness of France; but Louis XV cared for nothing but low pleasures. Helped on by the unprincipled Madame de Pompadour,[1] he had exhausted every means of extorting money from his people to waste in his shameless debaucheries. The question was, how to get more. For a time it seemed impossible to devise any fresh scheme of taxation; but at last one was hit upon. A courtier suggested to the king that a private company — a kind of gigantic "ring" — should be formed for buying up the grain of the country. An artificial scarcity of food would result, and the company could then sell wheat at famine prices, thus making an enormous profit.

The king eagerly adopted the suggestion. He, with a few nobles, got a monopoly of the grain of the kingdom; and soon the distress was so great that the people had to choose between starvation or paying the king's price for bread.

Thus the royal coffers were filled, and Louis "the Well Beloved"[2] and his favorites found means for new rounds of extravagant dissipation.

170. Death of the King; Literature of the Period; Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau. — In 1774 Louis died, the victim of

[1] See Paragraph 166.

[2] The title of "Well Beloved" had been rashly given to the king when he was dangerously ill, during the campaign of the Netherlands.

his own vices. When at the height of his power he had realized that France could hardly endure another such reign, and used to say to Madame de Pompadour, "After us the deluge." "Yes," she would reply; "after us." She had ruled for nearly twenty years (1745–1764). Largely through her baleful influence the king had ruined himself and ruined his country. She had thrust able men out of power, and put incompetent men in their places. She died abhorred, but she died as fearlessly and as unrepentant as she had lived. Her successor, Madame Du Barry, was notorious for profligacy and prodigality. She lived until the Revolution swept France like a "deluge"; then the guillotine-ax sheared off her "vainly whimpering head."

Three great writers — Montesquieu,[1] Voltaire, and Rousseau[2] — were even then preparing the way for the final catastrophe. Montesquieu was at that time engaged in the composition of his chief work, "The Spirit of Laws," which was published about the middle of the reign of Louis XV. In it he attempted to set forth the true principles of constitutional government, and to show how, as in England, liberty might be reconciled with law. Twenty-two editions of the book were published in a year and a half. Voltaire expressed the general admiration of it, when he said, "The human race had lost its title-deeds; Montesquieu found and restored them."

Voltaire, the second of these writers in point of time, but the most powerful of all in ability, was famous throughout Europe. In numerous noted works he had attacked religious intolerance and political corruption and oppression. In the early part of his career, his books had been condemned to be burned, and the author was locked up in the Bastile. Voltaire soon regained his liberty, however, and left France. He lived to wield that terrible weapon of mockery, which, as Macaulay

[1] Montesquieu (môN-tĕs-kẹ̣h-ʊh′).
[2] Rousseau (roo-sō′).

declares,[1] "made bigots and tyrants, who had never been moved by the wailing and cursing of millions, turn pale at his name."

The third writer, Rousseau, distinguished himself by his earnest advocacy of the principles of social and political equality. For good or evil, these men had definitively broken with the past. They, with Diderot[2] and other reputed or avowed atheists, labored to undermine all authority save that of reason. With them the Revolution had already begun in idea; when they had completed their work, then would come the outward Revolution, written not in ink, but in blood.

171. Summary. — The leading events of the period are: (1) the building up of the absolute power of the crown by Richelieu, followed by the despotism of Louis XIV and XV; (2) the wars of France for the acquisition of territory and supremacy of power in Europe; (3) the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with the persecution and flight of the Huguenots, to the serious injury of France; (4) the Mississippi scheme and its disastrous failure; (5) the struggle for the possession of India and America, and the ultimate gain of both by England; (6) the expulsion of the Jesuits; (7) the preparation for the Revolution through the bad government, corruption, and extravagance of the crown, and the radical utterances of the distinguished speakers and literary men of the age.

[1] See Macaulay's essay on Frederick the Great, and compare, also, his essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.

[2] Diderot (de-dro'): he was editor-in-chief of the Encyclopædia, in thirty-seven folio volumes, the first of which appeared in 1751, and the last in 1780. It undertook to sum up all knowledge and to "strike the balance-sheet of the human intellect." The general tone of the work was skeptical and aggressive. It aided powerfully in helping forward the Revolution, by advocating independence of thought and of action.

SECTION XII

The French Revolution was the establishment of a new order of society, founded on justice, not privilege. Such changes never take place without causing terrible suffering. *It is the law of humanity that all new life shall be born in pain.* — DURUY.

ATTEMPTED REFORMS — LOUIS XVI (1774–1793) — THE REVOLUTION (1789–1795) — THE REPUBLIC (1792–1795)

172. The Accession of Louis XVI; Critical Character of the Times. — Louis XV was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI, a young man of twenty, of blameless life, who, a few years before, had married the beautiful but frivolous Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria.[1]

Both meant well by the country, but neither had the qualities which the times required. The king was conscientious, but with no marked ability; and the queen was too much under the control of the Austrian influence, which France then both feared and hated. Both had a presentiment of impending trouble. When the courtiers, forsaking the corpse of Louis XV, rushed in a body across the palace to salute the new sovereigns, they fell on their knees together, and with streaming tears exclaimed, "O God, guide us, protect us; we are too young to reign!"

It soon became evident that they had reason for their fears. Outwardly everything at Versailles was splendid as ever; but, as Carlyle intimates, it was the splendor of the rainbow above

[1] See Paragraph 165.

Niagara, beneath which is destruction. A great change had passed over society and the court within a century. Once the king had been autocratic. That day had in a measure gone by. It was said that in the presence of Louis XIV no one dared speak; that under Louis XV the courtiers spoke in whispers; but that under Louis XVI they spoke out loud. There was a general feeling that a crisis of some kind was at hand.

The spirit of free inquiry aroused by the leading writers and thinkers of the period was one of the most striking and ominous signs of the times. Nothing was safe against their restless skeptical questioning; government, religion, social institutions, were all, as it were, put on trial. Every one believed that the old order of things could not last, and that reform was inevitable.

173. Turgot's Plans of Reform; the Tax System; Salt; Forced Labor; Necker. — The great difficulty was to determine where and how to begin. Each one shrank from laying the ax to the root of a tree that all agreed must come down. Louis XVI showed his sincere desire to right the wrongs of his age, by restoring the parliaments[1] his predecessor had abolished.

Soon afterward he gave Turgot[2] the control of the most important of all departments, that of finance. The young king could not have made a wiser appointment, for Turgot was an able and an honest man; what is more, he was a true friend of the people. With the coöperation of the crown, he set resolutely to work to relieve the national distress, and to try to put the revenue on a sound foundation. His motto was, "No bankruptcy; no increase of taxes; no loans."

Let us see some of the difficulties he had to deal with. In the first place, the government did not collect its taxes by its

[1] See Paragraph 168.

[2] Turgot (tür-gō′): he was eminent as a statesman and financier. Benjamin Franklin, with whom he corresponded, had a high opinion of his ability and integrity. Voltaire called him the best minister France had ever had.

own officers, but sold the privilege to capitalists. These capitalists employed unscrupulous and brutal agents. They were instructed to collect not only the legal tax, but as much more as they could extort, the excess being the profit reaped by the capitalists. If in any case a peasant was found who actually could not pay, his neighbors had to pay for him.

This system had two bad results. First, the king got into the habit of raising large sums of money by selling several years' taxes in advance. Louis XV had long practiced this method. The consequence was, that when his grandson, Louis XVI, came to the throne, he found that he could not levy a tax even for the necessary and legitimate expense of the coming year, for the cash had already been raised and spent. The new king was thus practically left without a revenue.

Next, as we have already seen, every means had been devised by Louis XV to increase the amount raised from the people, to the exhaustion of the whole country. To-day the United States obtains a large part of its revenue by imposing heavy duties on most imported goods. In the eighteenth century France pursued the same policy. But, not content with erecting customhouses all along the foreign frontier and at the chief seaports, the government established them also on the boundaries of every province and county.

These custom regulations were enforced so strictly and minutely that a workman crossing the Rhone from one province to another had to pay duty on the meager dinner of bread and cheese which he carried in his pocket. So, too, a merchant passing down that river with goods was compelled to pay no less than thirty tolls within a distance of about three hundred miles.

If a farmer living in one county had grain to sell, and there was a great demand for it in the adjoining county, he could not hitch up his team and take a load there directly

When he reached the boundary he was stopped, and must either pay an exorbitant duty or go back. In this way the people were forced to give not only the fair market price of a bushel of wheat, but as much more as the king saw fit to demand. Thus out of their necessity he maintained his luxury.

Again, from early times the government had levied a peculiarly vexatious and oppressive duty on salt.[1] Now, as salt is a necessary of life, and was particularly so when but little fresh meat or fish was eaten, this tax brought in a very large revenue. Not satisfied, however, with this, the government got a monopoly of the salt and fixed its own price on it. Every peasant was compelled to purchase a certain quantity whether he wanted it or not.

Agents were sent around to every man's cottage. They inspected his salt bin. If it looked to them too low, he had orders to buy more salt. He might plead that he had just salted his year's stock of provisions, and therefore did not require more; that explanation would not save him, for buy more he must.

On the other hand, he had, perhaps, economized in salt and had a good supply on hand. Then the agents not infrequently accused the poor man of having bought it of smugglers, — with whom the country was overrun, — and he had to choose between being prosecuted or buying as much salt as the agents thought fit, and at whatever price they pleased to set.

Next, if the government or any influential noble needed any work done, the peasants could be compelled to leave their farms and do it, without pay and without thanks even.[2] A man might be in the midst of haying or harvesting, when every moment was precious to him; but if the government called,

1 Technically called the *gabelle* (gȧ-bĕl′); see Paragraph 79.
2 Called the *corvée* (kôr-vā′), meaning forced labor.

he must leave everything and go. He and his team might be taken a score of miles from home, to labor for the king for days or weeks, the laborer, meanwhile, finding food and shelter as best he could.

Finally, even the mechanic of that day had but little real liberty. He could not, it is true, be forced to labor like the peasant; but he was obliged to belong to a guild or corporation, which determined what he might or might not do, where he should reside, and what price he was to ask for his work. These corporations governed every trade, and they were under the supervision of royal inspectors who practically governed them. As these inspectors bought their offices of the king, it was for his interest to keep up these restrictions; for free work would make inspectors unnecessary, and so diminish the revenue of the crown.

Such were some of the abuses which Turgot undertook to remove, or at least to mitigate. His plan was to endeavor to equalize the burden in some degree, so that the nobles and clergy, who were exempt, might bear their part. But the latter raised a clamorous opposition which frightened the king. The poor and humble parish priests sided with the people, but they unfortunately had no influence with the government. Louis had not strength to withstand the pressure. The infamous "Famine Compact," or "grain ring,"[1] which still existed, joined in the outcry, and Turgot with his proposed reforms was dismissed.

But as money must be raised even if the old abuses were left untouched, the king next invited an eminent Swiss Protestant banker named Necker to come to his assistance. He contrived, by an ingenious system of small but wide-reaching economies, to diminish the government expenses, and through the influence of his name he secured loans which kept the king tolerably supplied with money.

[1] See Paragraph 169.

Still, matters were constantly growing worse, and the king, instead of devoting all his time to the country, spent most of it in hunting and in learning to tinker locks. For weeks he would be busy in a workman's dress, in a little shop he had fitted up for the purpose, filing keys and oiling bolts; while the queen, dressed as a country girl, was playing at butter and cheese making in a dairy which had been constructed for her at Versailles.

174. The American Revolution. — In the midst of Necker's experiments and of this royal trifling an event occurred which had most important results in France. That event was the Declaration of American Independence and the Revolutionary War. When the English took Quebec in 1759,[1] Count de Vergennes[2] predicted the eventual revolt of the colonies, as a result of the defeat of the French forces in America.

"England," said he, "will soon repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection. She will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burden they have helped to bring on her, *and they will answer by striking off all dependence.*"

This prophecy was now fulfilled; and France, burning for revenge against her old enemy, strongly sympathized with the United States. Benjamin Franklin was sent by Congress to beg aid from Louis XVI. He was welcomed in Paris with the wildest enthusiasm. Franklin hats, Franklin canes, Franklin stoves, became the fashion, and the picture of the New England philosopher and diplomatist was seen in the windows of all the printshops.

In her zeal for the cause of America, France seemed for a time to forget her own misery, and, bankrupt though she was, she raised nine millions of francs as a gift to assist the armies of the new-born republic, besides furnishing about fifteen

[1] See Paragraph 166. [2] Vergennes (vĕr-zhĕn').

millions more as a loan.[1] In addition to this, the Marquis de Lafayette, a young man of twenty, loaded a vessel with arms and munitions of war at his own expense, and sailed for America to offer his services to General Washington.[2]

Meanwhile Louis XVI hesitated at openly supporting the American Revolution, knowing that such action would at once involve him in a war with England. But such was Franklin's persuasive power that in 1778 the king signed a treaty of alliance with the commissioners of Congress, and thus France, first among the European powers, recognized the United States as an independent nation.

From that time a French fleet and French troops contributed toward carrying on the war, and in 1781 they rendered most important aid in gaining the decisive victory of Yorktown, which virtually ended the struggle. Two years later the Treaty of Versailles declared peace between all the countries engaged. France had the satisfaction of having helped to humble the power that had taken Canada from her, and that had prevented her from building up an American empire; but the war with Great Britain cost her fourteen hundred millions of francs, and her condition was daily growing more and more critical.

The French officers and soldiers who had fought under the American flag came back at least half republicans, if not actual revolutionists. Long before, they had read Rousseau's impassioned plea for political and social equality.[3] That, however, was but theory. Now it was much more, for the United States had triumphed, and Rousseau's thought was embodied in that

[1] This help was not granted all at once, but extended over the whole period of the war.

[2] See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.

[3] Rousseau "was the father of modern democracy, and without him our Declaration of Independence would have wanted some of those sentences in which the immemorial longings of the poor and the dreams of solitary enthusiasts were at last affirmed as axioms in the manifesto of a nation so that all the world might hear." — Professor James Russell Lowell, *North American Review*, July, 1867, "Rousseau."

Declaration of Independence which affirmed that "all men are created equal." Thus America gave Rousseau's philosophy that practical power which was soon to make itself felt in the history of France.

175. The Notables; Recall of Necker; the States-General summoned. — Meantime Necker had been dismissed, because, like Turgot, he had angered the nobility by exposing the fact that instead of being a help to the country, they were simply a drag upon it. Louis, not knowing what to do, finally called a meeting of the Notables.[1] They convened, talked, but did nothing.

Then the king reluctantly recalled Necker. He insisted that the States-General should be summoned. Louis remonstrated. The truth was that under the baneful influence of Marie Antoinette, he was becoming more arbitrary, and less willing to undertake any reform which should lessen his own power. He had already angered and alienated the Parliament of Paris,[2] by ordering them to register an edict, without even voting on it, by which he decreed two obnoxious measures. These were, first, the raising of an enormous loan; and secondly, the restoration of the Protestants to their civil rights.

Louis feared that a States-General[3] would be more intractable even than the parliament; and that they would protest in an unmistakable way against his making his personal will the mainspring of government.

But the exigency gave him no choice, and with very bad grace Louis summoned the States-General. It met in the palace at Versailles in the spring of 1789. It was the first meeting since 1614.[4] Heretofore the three orders — nobility, clergy, and Tiers État,[5] or people — had usually sat apart. This had often enabled the kings of earlier periods to play off

[1] Notables: see Paragraph 98.
[2] See Paragraph 63.
[3] See Paragraph 71.
[4] See Paragraph 136.
[5] See Paragraph 94.

one order against the other, and especially to defeat the Tiers État. This last-named body now outnumbered the other two combined.[1]

176. The States-General becomes the National Assembly; Lafayette, Mirabeau, Robespierre, Guillotin. — The representatives of the people insisted that since the deliberations of the States-General concerned the welfare of the entire nation, they should therefore be held in common. For five weeks they received no answer to their invitation urging the first two orders to join them. At length the parish priests among the clergy decided to do so. Then the Tiers État took a bold step. They threw off the old name of States-General, and organized themselves as the National Assembly — a name which implied that in future no class division would be recognized in that body.

The nobles, with the upper clergy, protested against this action, and the king closed the hall against the new organization. They met, however, in the tennis court of the palace, where they bound themselves by oath not to dissolve until they had framed a written constitution for the government of the country. In accordance with that determination they not long after gave themselves the name of the National Constituent Assembly.[2]

A hundred and fifty years before, Louis XIV had boastfully declared, "*I* am the State."[3] Now, after this long silence, the people made reply, affirming, "*We* are the State." Seeing the resolute stand of the assembly, Necker advised the king to request the nobility and upper clergy to join the Tiers État. The hall was again opened, and for the first time in the history of France, lords, bishops, and commoners met on a footing of

[1] Namely, 584 Tiers État to 201 clergy and 270 nobles. About half the Tiers État were lawyers, while 208 of the clergy were parish priests strongly sympathizing with the people. The upper clergy were conservative, and voted with the nobles.

[2] Henceforth the body is generally called the Constituent Assembly.

[3] See Paragraph 144.

legislative equality. The old distinctions were done away, and in future the voting was to be by individuals, not orders,[1] and the vote of one member was to be worth as much as that of another.

Three members of that assembly were soon to take a conspicuous part in affairs. They were the Marquis de Lafayette, Count Mirabeau,[2] and a lawyer named Robespierre.[3]

There was also a fourth member destined to attain unenviable fame. This was a certain Dr. Guillotin[4] who had contrived a machine for decapitating criminals. His object was to reduce all capital punishment to a democratic level, and also to render it as speedy and painless as possible. He urged the assembly to adopt his machine. They were skeptical of its merits. He assured them that it would "take off a head in a twinkling," and that the victim would feel nothing save "a sensation of refreshing coolness."

At this declaration the hall resounded with loud laughter; but good Dr. Guillotin's machine was subsequently adopted, and in the end, not a few members who voted for it, tested its merits with their own necks.

177. Organization of the National Guard; Taking of the Bastile. — The king became alarmed at the democratic utterances of the assembly, and collected a body of troops at Versailles, many being Swiss or German. The citizens of Paris, believing that Louis intended to overawe the assembly, produced arms and organized a body of militia under the command of Lafayette. He gave them the name of the National

[1] See Paragraph 72 and note.

[2] Mirabeau (me-ră-bō′): the nobles of Provence having rejected Mirabeau as a representative, he was elected by the people and represented the Tiers État. Lafayette represented the nobility, but was urgent for reform.

[3] Robespierre (ro-bz̧s-pz̧-êr′) was a representative of the people, and was a radical democrat.

[4] Guillotin (ḡe-yo-tăN′): before the adoption of his machine (the guillotine), aristocratic criminals only had been beheaded; common malefactors were hung. The doctor wished to treat all alike. He was elected representative by the Tiers État. See Carlyle's French Revolution, Book IV, Chapter IV.

Guard: their duty was to defend the representatives of the people.

While these preparations were in progress, a rumor spread that the commander of the Bastile, that old military fortress and prison in the heart of Paris, had received orders to turn his guns on the city. At this report the excitement became ungovernable. From thousands of throats the cry went up, "To the Bastile! Down with the Bastile!" Moved by one impulse, a frenzied mob rushed toward that stronghold, which was to Paris what the Tower was to London.

The attack was led by veteran army soldiers. The commander of the fortress had only a feeble garrison and could not hold out. After five hours of fighting, he capitulated. The mob expected to find the dungeons crowded with political prisoners, as they formerly had been. They found only seven prisoners; five of these were ordinary criminals and two were lunatics, probably sent there for safe-keeping. The truth is that the Bastile had long since ceased to be the "Cave of Horrors" which popular imagination still supposed it to be.[1]

The defenders of the building were taken prisoners and brutally murdered. Then the crowd, with the victims' heads stuck on pikes, paraded the streets in triumph. This was the 14th of July; that very night the destruction of the building was begun, and did not cease so long as one stone stood upon another.[2]

The news was speedily carried to the king at Versailles. Roused from his sleep, Louis said to the messenger, "Why, this is a revolt." "No, sire," was the reply; "it is a *Revolution*."

178. Causes of the Revolution; Comparison of the Conditions of England and France. — It was the beginning of such a

[1] See Funck-Brentano's Legends et Archives de la Bastille, p. 264.

[2] In 1790 Lafayette sent the "main key" of this "fortress of despotism" to Washington. It is still preserved at Mount Vernon.

revolution as Europe had never seen before, and would pray never to see again. Henceforth the Fourteenth of July, 1789, marked by the taking of the Bastile, was to be in French history what the Fourth of July, 1776, is in United States history.

The Revolution was the explosion resulting from centuries of repression, misgovernment, and tyranny. Its four chief causes were:

I. The long-continued and exhausting wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV, followed by Louis XVI's contest with England in behalf of America, which had piled up a debt of six thousand five hundred millions of francs ($1,300,000,000).[1]

II. The fact that the "blood tax" springing from this colossal war debt, and from the wasteful habits of the king and court, fell on the common people; while, on the contrary, the nobility and higher clergy, who owned the land, were almost wholly exempt, so that instead of sharing the poor man's burdens they actually increased them.

III. Again, for nearly two hundred years France had not been permitted to hold a States-General;[2] so that for more than six generations the nation had not only had no voice whatever in the direction of the government, but could not during that time so much as protest even against the abuses of the crown on the one hand or of the local tyranny of the nobles on the other.[3]

IV. A final cause was the decay of religious belief and the simultaneous growth of a vigorous skeptical literature, proclaiming principles of independence, liberty, and equality,[4] — principles which were now powerfully enforced by the example of the constitutional freedom enjoyed by England, and still more by the republican institutions of America.

[1] France finally disposed of this tremendous burden of debt by the simple but effectual expedient of repudiation. [2] See Paragraph 71.

[3] In the army, only nobles could be officers. In the Church, none but nobles, as a rule, could secure a position above that of parish priest. The trades were in the hands of corporations and under the control of the crown. No one could enter them without permission and payment. Many of the peasantry were still serfs and virtually slaves. [4] See Paragraph 170.

If we compare England and France with respect to these grievances, we shall be struck with the contrast. In England there had been two revolutions, — that of 1642 and that of 1688. Both were contests between the Stuart kings and Parliament. Both were chiefly political. The first revolution took the form of a civil war, which lasted for several years, and ended in the temporary overthrow of the monarchy. The second struggle was over in a few months, without costing a drop of blood. It resulted in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy based on the will of the people.

In France, on the other hand, the Revolution was mainly social. It was a desperate battle between the mass of the inhabitants and the privileged classes, with the king at their head; and, although there were political questions involved in the struggle, they were prominent only in the beginning. It has been said of the French outbreak, as compared with the English, that it was more than a revolution, — it was a dissolution. There is truth in the expression: for when the movement, begun in 1789, ended, everything — government, Church, and society — was dissolved.

Here are four chief points of difference in the two nations:

I. In England, at the close of the eighteenth century (*i.e.*, 1789), the power of the king was strictly limited by custom and the constitution.[1] In France, on the contrary, there had never been any very clearly defined and effectual check on the power of the crown; and for a very long time there had been none at all.

II. In England, the nobility, including the higher clergy, embraced only the members of the House of Lords. The whole number probably did not exceed five hundred. Legally, they had no important privileges above the common people; and,

[1] The English Constitution consists (so far as written) of the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, the Act of Habeas Corpus, and finally the Bill of Rights, with its supplement, the Act of Settlement.

like them, they paid taxes and supported the state. In France the nobility, with the clergy, numbered probably not far from two hundred thousand.[1] They enjoyed important privileges denied to the people; they were supported in idleness by the unpaid labor of the peasantry, and they practically paid no taxes.

III. Again, England possessed a Parliament, or National Assembly, in which, from the close of the thirteenth century, the people were in some degree represented in the House of Commons.

For centuries the commons had exercised a salutary power in the government. No law could be constitutionally enacted without their voice. No tax could be levied without their consent. Every man had the right to trial by jury.

In France, as we have seen, the States-General[2] gave little power to the people; even that little had for nearly two hundred years been unused, and trial by jury had long ceased to exist.

IV. Finally, in England, feudal oppression and privilege no longer existed. The entire laboring class was free. In France, on the contrary, feudal privilege and oppression still existed; and thousands of peasants were bound as serfs to the soil, and were practically slaves.[3]

[1] The French nobility (*noblesse*) included all the nobles with their descendants. In England, nobility, strictly speaking, is confined to the father. All of his children, in the eyes of the law, are commoners; and it is only at the father's death that his eldest son receives a legal title of rank, — though by courtesy he usually has one before. (See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.) The French nobles (not including the clergy) were to the English as 150,000 to 500.

[2] See Paragraphs 71, 94.

[3] The total number of serfs in France at the close of the eighteenth century is estimated by Rambaud at one hundred and fifty thousand. A large part of these seem to have been in the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Most peasants who were nominally free still continued to pay some kind of feudal dues. Usually they were obliged to grind their grain in the lord's mill, and make their wine at his press, giving him toll in both cases. On the other hand, the lord of the manor administered justice, and had the exclusive right of hunting, fishing, and keeping rabbits and doves, which ate the peasant's corn, and often destroyed

179. Division of the Revolutionary Period; Effect of the Taking of the Bastile; Declaration of Rights; the Constitution. — The revolutionary period may be divided into two parts, covering in all nearly six years:[1] (1) from the taking of the Bastile to the beginning of the Reign of Terror (1789–1793); (2) from the beginning of the Reign of Terror to the establishment of the Directory (1793–1795).

The taking of the Bastile not only convinced the people of their power, but it excited similar insurrections throughout the country. The peasantry arose and attacked the castles and monasteries. Their object was to burn these buildings, and to destroy by fire the charters and deeds by which they themselves were held in bondage. In some cases they did not stop with destruction, but murdered the masters of the castles and the abbots of the monasteries.

This uprising so alarmed the nobility that at a meeting of the Constituent Assembly (August 4) they offered to give up their feudal claims and privileges. This proposition was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm. The assembly voted a solemn service of thanksgiving in the churches; and as the king had sanctioned the measure, they ordered that his statue should be erected on the site of the Bastile. On it was to be carved the high-sounding inscription, "To the Restorer of the Liberty of France."

But the seemingly magnanimous offer meant little, for the nobility required compensation for the claims they offered to

a great part of his scanty crops. About a third of the land was owned by small farmers; some of it was freehold property; but in many instances the occupant was expected to pay some kind of annual rent, if nothing more than a pair of chickens, to the former lord.

[1] The first period of the Revolution, especially from 1789–1791, seems to have been largely "the work of the intelligent middle classes," who were chiefly represented in the commons of the States-General. The second period appears to have been, in the main, the work of "the ignorant multitude" or the mob. See on this point Professor Gordy's Political History of the United States (revised edition), Vol. I, Chapter XIV, and H. M. Stephens' French Revolution.

relinquish; and as the proposed statue was never erected, the whole affair seemed to end in words, not deeds. None the less the night of August 4 will remain famous, for the movement which began then did not stop till it had done its complete work.

A fortnight afterward Lafayette rose in the assembly and moved the adoption of a Declaration of the Rights of Man, which he had modeled on the American Declaration of Independence. The manifesto, after discussion and modification, was accepted; and the assembly next began the work of drafting a constitution in accordance with it, — a task that they did not wholly finish until two years later.

This constitution established:

1. A limited monarchy, similar to that of England, the sovereign to be called "King of the French," or people's king, instead of retaining his old feudal title of "King of France," which implied that he owned the realm.

2. The power of legislation and taxation was taken from the crown and vested in representatives chosen by the nation, though the king was allowed a qualified right of veto.

3. The privileges of the nobility, with their hereditary titles, were swept away; and all citizens were declared equal before the law.

4. The thirty-six feudal provinces of France, with their oppressive local laws and vexatious restrictions, were abolished. The country was declared free, and formed into eighty-three departments, as nearly of a size as practicable. These departments were declared to possess equal political rights, and each was to be represented in the National Assembly.[1]

5. The right of the eldest son to the exclusive inheritance of landed property was done away with, and every estate was henceforth to be divided equally among all the children.

[1] Compare map of the provinces (page 238) with that of the departments (page 1). Notice that the departments, now eighty-six in number, are named from their position (*e.g.*, "Nord," North) or geographical features (*e.g.*, Pyrenees).

6. Liberty of worship and full civil rights were granted to Protestants and Jews in common with Catholics.

7. The press was declared free, and all restrictions on interior trade and commerce were abolished.

France in Provinces

8. Great reforms were made in the criminal code. Arbitrary imprisonment by royal warrant and torture were both abolished. Heresy and witchcraft were struck from the list of penal offences, capital punishment was very much limited, and trial by jury was provided for in criminal cases.

180. **The Attack on Versailles; the "Joyous Entry"; Flight of the Nobles.** — While the assembly was engaged in

constitution making, matters were fast growing critical in Paris. Bad harvests had caused great distress throughout the country. There was scarcity of bread in the capital, and, to render the condition worse, thousands of desperate tramps had come into the city, eager for riot and pillage.

While the multitude were suffering, news reached Paris that the king had given a banquet to the officers of a regiment of soldiers at Versailles, and that they had trampled the colors of the National Guard — the people's colors — under their feet.[1]

These tidings set the city in a blaze. A great rabble, led by several thousand ragged and dirty women, set out on foot for Versailles. It rained hard the latter part of the day, and when the mob reached the palace, they were wet to the skin, hungry, and tired. Lafayette followed with the National Guard to keep order. Nothing of consequence was done that day: but early the next morning the mob burst into the building, killing the Swiss guards, and sweeping all before them. For the first time in their history the apartments of the magnificent edifice erected by Louis XIV were filled, not with bowing and smiling courtiers, but with a yelling mob of starving people. They clamored for the blood of "the Austrian woman," as they called the queen: for she, they said, was the "Madame Deficit" who kept them poor.

Lafayette succeeded in saving her life: but she, with the dauphin, the king, and the rest of the royal family, was forced to go back with the rabble to Paris. Fifty cartloads of grain, taken from the royal stores, preceded them: and the multitude shouted, as they went, "We shall not die of hunger now; for we have got the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy." That sad, compulsory journey of royalty to the capital was popularly called the "Joyous Entry"

[1] The people's flag was the tricolor, — red, white, and blue. At the banquet the colors were represented by a cockade.

(October 6, 1789). The Tuileries[1] henceforth became the residence of the king and queen. From that day the palace at Versailles has never been occupied by a French sovereign.[2]

The shadow of the Revolution that rested on it then still remains. Its grand galleries and state apartments are as magnificent as ever, but none the less the place seems haunted with the spirit of retribution.

From the time of that "Joyous Entry" the nobility began to leave France in ever-increasing numbers. They gathered on the German frontier, boasting of what they would do to restore the king; but they never did much except exasperate the people of Paris, who believed that they would return with a foreign army and reëstablish the old order of things.

The Constituent Assembly now left Versailles and established themselves in Paris. This brought them directly under the influence of the fickle, excited populace and of the Jacobin and other radical clubs of the city.

181. Confiscation of Land; Issue of Paper Money. — There was now a pressing need of money, for France had to equip armies to defend the new government against foreign interference. To meet this, and yet avoid taxation, the assembly confiscated the crown lands,[3] the estates of those nobles who had fled, and finally the possessions of the clergy.

The Church remonstrated loudly against the seizure of its property, but without avail. The whole of its vast wealth, comprising, it is said, upwards of a third of all the land of France, worth over two thousand millions of francs ($400,000,000), was taken to be "the dowry of the Constitution." This law was followed by an act suppressing monasteries and nunneries, and one which put the election of bishops and the appointment of priests in the hands of the people.

[1] Tuileries (twēl-rē′): a royal palace in Paris. It was burned by the mob in 1871. [2] See Paragraph 231.

[3] The assembly voted the king a revenue of twenty-five million francs as indemnity for the seizure of the crown lands.

But since these lands could not be converted into cash at once, the assembly proceeded to issue paper money. So long as this issue actually rested on the land as security, all went well; but the temptation to increase it was irresistible. It was so easy to keep the government presses going, and print batches of crisp notes that pretended to be as good as gold. So the multiplication of *assignats*,[1] as the bills were called, went on until forty-four thousand millions of francs had been issued!

Then the depreciation of this "rag currency" set in so rapidly that one franc in silver would buy over seven thousand in paper. All the necessaries of life became enormously dear, and finally the assignats ceased to have any value or use whatever, unless a day laborer happened to want one to light his pipe with.

182. **Ratification of the Constitution.** — On the 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile, the constitution, under which these assignats were issued, was formally ratified by king and people. An altar, called the Altar of the Country, was erected in the Field of Mars, in Paris, and France sent a hundred thousand representatives to swear allegiance to the new government. In presence of an immense enthusiastic multitude Louis XVI took an oath to maintain the liberties of the people under the constitution.[2] The queen held up the dauphin in her arms, as if to associate him with his father's pledge of good government.

It had been raining steadily; but at this moment the sun broke through the clouds and sent its rays full on the king and his wife and child, as they stood with hands uplifted by the altar. A great shout of joy went up from the vast assemblage at the happy omen. But it was the last time that the sun

[1] Assignats (á-sē-nyá'): so called because the public lands were held to be assigned or pledged in payment of these notes.

[2] Louis renewed his oath on September 14, 1791.

ever shone with favor on the royal family, or that the people ever shouted with joy at sight of them.

183. **The Clergy Oath; Death of Mirabeau; Flight of the Royal Family.** — The assembly, not satisfied with seizing the church lands[1] and giving the state the control of the clergy, next proceeded to compel them to take an oath of allegiance to the constitution. As such an oath was a virtual acknowledgment that the assembly had done what was lawful and right, the pope declared that all of the French clergy who took it should be cut off from communion with the Catholic Church. The king vetoed the assembly's measure, but in the end was obliged to sanction it, and ultimately about half of the clergy took the obnoxious oath.

The next spring (1791) Mirabeau died. His death was a heavy loss to the moderate party, since it threw power into the hands of the more violent radicals.

Louis was now convinced that it was useless for him to remain longer in Paris. He and his family prepared for flight. The king's object was to appeal to the sovereigns of Europe for military aid, though he afterward declared that he did not intend leaving the kingdom. The royal family succeeded in getting to Varennes,[2] near the northeastern frontier, but were stopped there and brought back to Paris.

It was their second enforced entry; no one now pretended to call it "joyous." As they passed through the streets on their way to the Tuileries, which had now become their prison in everything but name, there was profound silence. Government placards conspicuously posted notified the public as follows: "Whoever applauds the king shall be flogged; whoever insults him shall be hanged."

184. **The Legislative Assembly; the King mobbed in the Tuileries.** — The Constituent Assembly, having now completed its work of framing and then revising the constitution,

[1] See Paragraph 181. [2] Varennes (vą-rĕnz′): near Verdun.

dissolved itself. By a self-denying ordinance it declared its members ineligible to reëlection or to positions under the government. The next day (October 1, 1791) a new representative body met, called the Legislative Assembly.

It was composed of three classes: the Constitutionalists, or conservative party, who favored limited monarchy; the Girondists,[1] who wished to establish a republic; and finally, the Jacobins, or violent radicals, led by Robespierre, Danton, and Marat.[2]

Two questions of the first importance came up for discussion at the outset. First, should those members of the clergy who persisted in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the constitution be deprived of their salaries and prohibited from holding religious service? Secondly, should the emigrant nobles who took up arms against the government be condemned as traitors to the country? On both these questions the assembly voted in the affirmative, but the king vetoed the measures.

Meantime Austria, Prussia, and Spain were threatening to send armies into France to reëstablish Louis in all his former rights, and to restore to the Church its confiscated property. The assembly denounced the Constitutionalist ministry as favoring the hostile coalition against France. The ministry resigned, and a Girondist ministry came into power with Roland[3] at their head. The result of this change was a declaration of war against Austria, which had been foremost in the coalition, the Emperor Francis II being a nephew of Marie Antoinette. Louis himself, with sinking heart and faltering voice, had to declare hostilities.

The first movement of the French against the enemy was a shameful failure. Then the assembly voted three decrees,

[1] Girondists: so called because their most prominent men came from the department of the Gironde (zhē-rōnd′) in the southwest of France.

[2] Marat (mä-rä′).

[3] Roland (ro-lōN′): he was the husband of the famous Madame Roland, who died a victim of the Reign of Terror.

banishing the refractory priests from France, disbanding the Swiss bodyguard of the king, and finally ordering the establishment of a camp of twenty thousand provincial troops for the protection of Paris. The king agreed to the disbanding of his household troops, but vetoed the other two measures. The ministry under Roland remonstrated, and Louis dismissed them from office.

Then the Paris mob rose, and with swords and pikes in their hands burst into the palace of the Tuileries and, forcing their way into the king's presence, demanded that he should sign the decrees, and recall the Girondist ministers.

Louis was no coward; he was perfectly calm, and refused to promise, saying, "This is neither the time nor the place: I will do all the Constitution prescribes." One of the mob, putting a red woolen liberty cap on the end of a pike, thrust it out toward the king: he took it and placed it on his head amid shouts of "Long live the King!"

185. **Attack on the Tuileries; Massacre of the Swiss Guard; Imprisonment of the Royal Family; the September Massacres.** — A number of weeks later a manifesto from the Duke of Brunswick, commander in chief of the allied forces, was received in Paris, in which he threatened to hang every man as a traitor who supported the assembly and who refused to submit to Louis XVI as his rightful king. Danton, Marat, and Robespierre demanded that the king should be at once deposed. The assembly delayed action. The citizens rose in insurrection, and made ready to attack the Tuileries. Louis fled with his family to the assembly for protection. The mob attacked the palace, which was at first bravely defended by the Swiss guards.

Then orders came from the king that the guards were to cease firing and come to the assembly. Part of them received the order and started; the others failed to get the word sent to them. All, to the number of about eight hundred, with some twelve hundred nobles and gentlemen of the palace,

THE LION OF LUCERNE

were massacred by the rabble. Thorwaldsen[1] has commemorated the fall of the devoted Swiss soldiers in his colossal sculpture cut in the face of the rock at Lucerne: a dying lion transfixed by a broken lance protects the royal lilies of France with his paw. That, and the Expiatory Chapel in Paris, built by Louis XVIII, to the memory of Louis XVI and his queen, are the two noblest monuments of the Revolution.

After these murders, the insurgents, their hands smeared with blood, marched to the terrified assembly and demanded that they should declare that the king had forfeited his throne; and next, that a National Convention should be called to take their place. The assembly (August 10, 1792) passed a decree temporarily suspending the king from office and summoning the convention demanded. Lafayette was deprived of the command of the National Guards, and was obliged to leave France to save his life. Meanwhile the king and royal family were sent as prisoners to the Temple.[2]

Louis was never to leave that gloomy building until he bade farewell to it to mount the steps of the guillotine. The queen was later sent to another prison, and thence, like her husband, to the scaffold. Marie Antoinette in her power and prosperity had been haughty and frivolous. In her time of trial and sorrow she showed herself patient, brave, and full of sweet dignity.

A few weeks after the imprisonment of the royal family all Paris was thrown into consternation by the news that the allied armies had entered France and captured Longwy and Verdun.[3] A kind of panic of ferocity was the result. Danton declared, "We must strike terror to the Royalists." The Paris authorities forthwith ordered that the political prisoners in the

1 Thorwaldsen (tor'wawld-sen).

2 Temple: the ancient stronghold of the Knights Templars in Paris. See Paragraph 75.

3 Longwy and Verdun: towns in the northeast of France; the first is on the Belgian frontier.

city, men and women, several thousand in number, should be put to death.

On the 2d of September, 1792, bands of ruffians were sent to the prisons, and the butchery began. When it ended, four days later, the radical revolutionists had nothing more to fear from the political prisoners. Among those who perished at this time was the Princess Lamballe, a favorite of the queen. Her bleeding head, borne on a pike, was held up in front of the window of Marie Antoinette's apartments in the Temple. The queen fainted, and so was mercifully spared the ghastly sight.

186. Meeting of the National Convention; France declared a Republic; Execution of the King. — On the 21st of September, 1792, the National Convention, chosen by universal suffrage, met, and proceeded at once to abolish royalty and declare France a republic, "one and indivisible."[1] Titles of honor and respect were forbidden; henceforth all men and women were to be addressed as "citizen," or "citizeness."

The convention was made up of two parties: the Girondists, — who were now considered conservative, — and the extreme radicals, who got the nickname of the Mountain from their occupying the highest benches, on the left of the hall.

These two parties were at swords' points. The Girondists wished to bring the instigators of the September massacre to trial. The Mountain, on the other hand, were determined to drive out the Girondists and monopolize all power.

Danton, the leader of the Mountain, and the master spirit of the convention, now dared the armies of the allies to advance. "Let us throw them," said he, "the head of a king." That proposition sealed Louis' fate. He was brought before the convention on a charge of having conspired against the constitution and the public good. Of that charge "Louis Capet," as he was styled in the indictment, was found guilty

[1] The day following (September 22, 1792) was considered to be the first day of the Year One of the Republic.

and condemned to immediate death by a majority of one; though, at a second vote, two days later, that majority was increased to sixty.

The Girondists would have saved his life if they could, but the party of the Mountain was too strong for them. Among those who dared to plead for the king was Thomas Paine,[1] who had taken part in the American Revolution. He said, "The man whom you have condemned to death is regarded by the people of the United States as their best friend, as the founder of their liberty."

On the 21st of January, 1793, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, the king was beheaded. He left a son of eight, who died a few years later, of neglect.[2] Louis XVI gave his life in expiation of the sins of others, rather than of his own. Had Louis XIV and XV done their duty by France half as well as their unfortunate successor tried to do his, there would have been no revolution.

187. The Grand Coalition against France; the Revolutionary Tribunal; Defection of Dumouriez; Committee of Public Safety. — The execution of the king, instead of intimidating the European powers, had the opposite effect. England now joined Holland, Spain, Austria, and Prussia to overthrow the convention and restore the monarchy. The Revolution was regarded as a menace to every throne in Europe. Nor was this feeling groundless; for the French generals had received orders, when their armies advanced, to proclaim the abolition of feudal rights and privileges, and to inaugurate the sovereignty of the people. In other words, they were to extend the French Revolution as far and as fast as they were able.

But in the spring of 1793 the allied armies checked the French advance, and ended by driving them out of Belgium.

[1] Paine visited France after the American Revolution, and was elected a member of the National Convention. He sided with the Girondists.

[2] See Miss Martineau's story of the Peasant and the Prince (Ginn & Company, Boston).

The Mountain threw the blame of this and of all other disasters on the policy of the Girondists. They made use of it to secure the creation of a Revolutionary Tribunal, having power to judge without appeal all who conspired against the state. Shortly after, Dumouriez,[1] the ablest of the French generals, turned against the convention, began negotiations with the Austrians for the reëstablishment of the monarchy, and finally, leaving his army, who refused to support him, fled to the enemy's quarters.

The wildest alarm now prevailed in Paris. The convention established a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine members, all of whom were violent radicals, opposed to the Girondists. The committee adopted a new democratic constitution. In this body Danton was chief. The sessions of this new body were secret, and it practically had control of the government. The convention had two hundred thousand men under arms. It was now voted that the number should be at once increased to half a million.

188. Distress in Paris; Civil War in the Provinces; Arrest of the Girondists. — Meanwhile the price of bread was constantly rising, the distress of the people was great; and, on the other hand, the value of paper money was rapidly falling. The Mountain[2] believed prices could be regulated by law; that farmers could be compelled to bring grain to Paris and forced to take the assignats,[3] or Revolutionary bank notes, at par. The Girondists had no faith in these measures, and steadily opposed them.

While these things were taking place at Paris, a counter-revolution was going on in some of the provinces. In Brittany, Maine, and Anjou a majority of the inhabitants continued loyal to the monarchy. In those districts the people had suffered less from the effects of bad government,

[1] Dumouriez (dü-moo-re-ā′). [2] See Paragraph 186.
[3] See Paragraph 181.

and the relations between the peasantry and the nobles and clergy were generally friendly.

Filled with horror at the execution of the king, and clinging strongly to the Catholic Church, these simple, kind-hearted rustics rose in defense of the altar and the throne.

In La Vendée,[1] a province of the west, Louis XVI's young son, who was in prison with his mother, was proclaimed king. Civil war ensued, and the Chouans,[2] as the insurrectionists of Brittany were nicknamed, with the Vendéans, kept up an obstinate guerilla warfare against the forces of the convention.

The ill success of the French armies abroad and the civil war at home threw still more power into the hands of the formidable Committee of Safety. Through their influence a law was passed by which the members of the convention gave up the exemption from arrest on political charges, which they had hitherto possessed. This made it possible for the two hostile parties, the Mountain[3] and the Girondists, to plot each other's destruction.

The Girondists made the first move, and accused Marat of being unfaithful to the true interests of the republic. But the hideous Marat, who sat in the convention with his wooden shoes and red liberty cap, always demanding victims for his favorite guillotine, was not to be overthrown. He had the Paris mob to back him. The gentle, low-voiced, catlike Robespierre was also a favorite with the rabble, and he held his place against the Girondists.

Then came the Mountain's turn. They denounced the opposite party. Thousands of insurgents broke into the chamber, and with Marat and Robespierre demanded the arrest of the

[1] La Vendée (lä vŏN-dā′).

[2] Chouans (shoo-ŏN′): a name derived either from Jean Chouan, the chief of the band, or from *chat-huant*, a screech owl, because the Chouans, like the owls, were seldom seen except at night, and they imitated the cry of those birds.

[3] See Paragraph 186.

Girondists. The decree was carried, and thirty-one Girondist deputies were made prisoners.

189. The Reign of Terror; Insurrection in the Provinces; Assassination of Marat. — From this date, June 2, 1793, when the Mountain came into absolute power, the Reign of Terror began.[1]

Ten of the Girondists escaped and excited an insurrection in the provinces in their behalf. The city of Lyons rose in their favor, and Toulon declared itself on the side of the royalists. The convention sent an army to reduce the people of the first-named city to submission. The army took with them a guillotine on wheels, for the purpose of beheading all prisoners of war.

But, quick as was the guillotine in its fatal work, it was too slow for the impatient soldiers. They massed their prisoners in the public squares and mowed them down with grapeshot. The general in command swore that he would not cease the work of destruction until he had leveled the rebellious city to the ground; then, when the last rebel was slain and the last stone overthrown, he declared that he would erect a monument bearing the inscription:

Lyons resisted liberty — Lyons is no more.

At Nantes, on the Loire, more than thirty thousand persons were put to death. Here, too, the guillotine was set aside as inadequate to the task. Large barges were filled with men, women, and children bound together. These barges were rowed out into the middle of the river and there sunk. In La Vendée thousands were likewise massacred.

The cynical Marat rubbed his hands in delight over the wholesale destruction of the enemies of his party. Terror, as Barère declared, had indeed become "the order of the day,"

[1] The duration of the period of the Reign of Terror is differently given by different authorities. It was on September 5, 1793, that Barère declared: "*terror was decreed to be the order of the day.*"

and this butcher of men, who had vowed that every opposing head should fall, showed his admiring friends his reception room papered with death warrants.

But his own turn was now to come. Charlotte Corday, a heroic young girl from Normandy, who was in sympathy with the Girondists, believed it her duty to rid the world of this monster. She succeeded in getting access to him, and while he was jotting down the names of fresh victims she stabbed him to the heart, and expiated the act on the guillotine.

190. The Law of "Suspects"; Execution of the Queen; the Girondists and Madame Roland. — But Charlotte Corday's dagger, though it slew Marat, did not, as she hoped, put an end to the Reign of Terror. On the contrary, its fury increased. Hébert,[1] the leader of the Commune of Paris,[2] now urged Danton and his comrades to spare none who did not side with them. "To be safe," said he, "we must kill all." Thus urged, the convention passed a law to imprison all persons "suspected" of ill-will toward the Republic.

Under the operation of the law the jails throughout France were soon crowded with prisoners awaiting trial and death. Henceforth the guillotine was permanently set up in the center of Paris and was never idle. The terrible machine had in fact become the chief means of government. Universal suspicion bred universal terror. Men came to distrust their bosom friends; nay, the very members of their own families. No one felt safe from day to day. No one knew who might be watching or following him, or when he might be arrested as a "suspect."

This very horror increased the number of victims; for "citizen" now vied with "citizen" in endeavoring to secure victims; since the more heads a man could send to the scaffold, the safer his own might be. Generally the trial of prisoners

[1] Hébert (ā-bêr').

[2] Commune of Paris: the revolutionary committee governing Paris.

was the merest mockery. Their doom was sealed from the beginning. "It is only the dead," said the Tribunal, "who never come back."

Acting on this principle the Mountain now[1] determined to take the life of the queen. She was brought before the Tribunal. Sixteen years before, Burke had seen her at Versailles, "glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendor and joy."[2] Imprisonment and sorrow had made her prematurely old. She refused to plead in her own behalf; she only said: "I was a queen, and you took away my crown; a wife, and you killed my husband; a mother, and you robbed me of my children: my blood alone remains; take it, but do not make me suffer long." She was sentenced to the guillotine and executed the same day (October 16, 1793). On the day of her execution the queen wrote on a page which still shows the marks of her tears: "I had friends; the idea of being separated from them forever, and their pain, are one of the greatest regrets I have in dying. Let them know, at least, that I thought of them to the final moment."

Next, the Court sentenced twenty-two Girondists to death. One shouted: "I die on the day when the people have lost their reason; ye will die when they recover it." Another stabbed himself to escape the guillotine; but his corpse was beheaded with the rest. They had their "Last Supper" together, then up to the scaffold, up to the fatal knife, the Girondists went one by one, singing the Marseillaise[3]:

> Come, children of our country,
> The day of glory has arrived.

As the ax did its work, the song grew fainter and fainter, but it did not cease till the last head fell.

[1] See Paragraph 186.

[2] Burke's Reflection on the French Revolution.

[3] Marseillaise (mär-sā-yāz′): the "battle hymn" of the Revolution.

MARIE ANTOINETTE SENTENCED TO THE GUILLOTINE

In less than a fortnight Madame Roland, at whose house the Girondists used to meet, ascended the same scaffold. Martin says that "she was the strongest and truest character of the Revolution." Near the guillotine a colossal plaster image of Liberty had been erected. The brave woman looked at it, and said, as she bent to the ax, "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!"

From this time the death cart went constantly loaded with fresh batches of victims to feed the falling knife. The saintly Princess Elizabeth, sister of the king, and many other illustrious names were among them. Even mothers and little children were guillotined. It had become a carnival of murder, and scores of market women went to the place of execution as they would to the theater. There, at the foot of the scaffold, they sat peacefully knitting, and counting the heads as they fell.

Well might Chateaubriand [1] say that not all the water of the fountains which now sparkle in the sunshine of that famous square [2] could wash out the stains of the blood that had been recklessly shed there.

191. Festival of the Goddess of Reason; Fall of the Atheists and the Dantonists; Festival of the Supreme Being; Execution of Robespierre. — But the day of reckoning was at hand. Now that the Mountain had rid themselves of the Girondists, they, and their coadjutors of the Commune of Paris, turned on each other.

Hébert and his party were professed atheists, while Robespierre was not. Through Hébert's influence, an actress dressed to represent the Goddess of Reason received the homage of the atheists in the cathedral of Notre Dame. Sunday was abolished. The churches were closed against religious worship. The cross was torn down, and a model of the "Holy Guillotine" set up in its place. Signs of mourning for the

[1] Chateaubriand (sha-tō-bre-ŏN′).
[2] The Place de la Concorde.

dead were prohibited. Over the entrance to the burial grounds was written, "Death is an eternal sleep."

"In future," said Hébert, "we want no other religion but that of Nature; no other temple than that of Reason; no other worship than that of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Everything, in fact, was to be changed. The months were renamed after the weather and the seasons — the Frosty, the Rainy, the Hot, and so on; the calendar was abolished, and men were no more to reckon time from the birth of Christ, but from the Year One of the French Republic. The royal tombs at St. Denis had already been broken open by an act of the convention, and the remains of the kings thrown out.

But Robespierre had no sympathy with Hébert's movement, and attacked him and his party as intolerant fanatics, worse than the priests they had expelled. Rousseau had declared that men who did not believe in a special Providence, and in a life beyond the grave, could not be good citizens. This was Robespierre's idea. "If no God existed," said he, quoting Voltaire, "we should have to invent one."

Then Hébert and his party attempted to excite an insurrection against Robespierre and the convention. The latter had them arrested, tried, and guillotined. Next came the turn of Danton and his comrades. They had grown weary of the Reign of Terror, if they were not indeed horrified at its excesses. Danton had created the Revolutionary Tribunal which sent such multitudes to death. Now, that Tribunal pronounced his sentence and that of his friends. They laid their necks under that ax which had first descended on that of a king.

Robespierre thus became the real head of France. He pushed the war in La Vendée until it became simply slaughter and extermination. He redoubled the severity of the laws. He sent out spies everywhere to keep himself informed of the state of feeling. From a humble member of the States-General of 1789, he had risen in a little more than five years

to be an absolute ruler, more despotic than any of the Bourbon kings had dared to be.

He felt that to complete his system a religious basis was needed. He accordingly resolved to hold a festival in honor of the Supreme Being. Dressed in a sky-blue coat, holding a bunch of flowers, fruit, and grain in his hand, Robespierre appeared in the Field of Mars, and in the presence of a vast multitude the service began.

A choir of over two thousand sang a hymn to the Supreme Being. Bands of young girls scattered flowers. Then Robespierre advanced and set fire to two allegorical figures representing Atheism and Selfishness. As they burned, a figure of Wisdom appeared ; but it was Wisdom blackened and scorched with smoke and flame.

Of the two, it is difficult to say which was the more revolting, the theatrical mummeries of the Worship of Reason or the theatrical mummeries of the Festival of the Supreme Being.

No sooner was the performance over than the guillotine, which had been temporarily veiled, began its work again. In Paris alone, during the last seven weeks of Robespierre's power, about two hundred victims a week were executed, and the whole number that perished in the Revolution by massacre, civil war, and the scaffold has been estimated as high as a million. But later writers divide this million by ten.

The destruction of life at last became unendurable. The convention rose against Robespierre. He was arrested and beheaded, July 28, 1794. With his downfall the Reign of Terror virtually ended. It had lasted a little more than a year — but what a year ! For once, however, the guillotine proved itself the friend of humanity, since in ridding France of Robespierre, it freed the country from the power of a man who had made the name of republic more hateful than that of the worst of monarchies.

192. The Reaction; the "White Terror"; Victories of the Republic; the Directory. — The government, if government it can be called, was now in the hands of the convention, which was in a state of disorganization. Strong reaction set in. In the south of France the opponents of the Republic rose and inaugurated what was called the "White Terror," a name given it to distinguish it from the Red Terror of the past.

Bands of men, calling themselves Companies of Jesus and Companies of the Sun, massacred the prisoners in the jails, and committed horrible atrocities for weeks before they were checked.

Early in 1795 the armies of the Republic gained a great victory over the English and Dutch, resulting in the conquest of Holland, which adopted a democratic form of government, modeled on that of France. Later in the year Belgium was declared a part of the French Republic. Meanwhile the insurrection in La Vendée had been suppressed, and peace established in that department.

In the summer of the same year (1795) the convention appointed a committee to draw up a new constitution — the third since 1789.[1] By it the government was placed in the hands of five directors, and so received the name of the Directory.

A new power is now about to appear on the scene. The Revolution may be said to have finished its course. With a single slight exception there will be no more insurrections. All subsequent change, for many years, will be accomplished not by revolts of the people or "reigns of terror," but by the organized power of the government and the army.

193. Summary. — The period covering twenty-one years (1774–1795) opens with some feeble attempts at reform on the part of Louis XVI. This halting and half-hearted policy is

[1] Since then France has successively framed and adopted no less than six new constitutions, or nine in all during the last hundred years.

followed by the meeting of the States-General, which reorganizes itself as the National Assembly.

The fall of the Bastile inaugurates the Revolution, which sweeps away the monarchy, the privileged classes, and the Church. Political and social dissolution gives rise to jealousy and anarchy, ending in a "reign of terror" and the dictatorship of Robespierre.

The period closes with reaction and with the attempt to organize a new and more stable government. The chief permanent results of the Revolution are the establishment of civil and religious liberty, and the equality of all citizens before the law.

SECTION XIII

A colossus, but with feet of clay. — DURUY.

THE DIRECTORY (1795–1799) — NAPOLEON (1799–1815)

194. Royalist Insurrection; Napoleon Bonaparte. — But though the convention had organized the government of the Directory in name, it had yet to fight for its life. The reaction against the excesses of the Revolution, and a measure by which the convention endeavored to continue its own power, encouraged the Royalists to hope that they might restore the monarchy. The poor little dauphin, son of Louis XVI, had died from ill-treatment;[1] but the late king's brother was living in Russia, where he had taken refuge, and the Royalists wished to place him on the throne as Louis XVIII.

The National Guard was persuaded to join the monarchical party. In October, 1795, the combined forces, forty thousand strong, marched on the Tuileries to expel the convention and prevent the establishment of the Directory.

The convention called on General Barras[2] to defend them. Barras requested a Corsican artillery officer of twenty-six, who had distinguished himself at Toulon, to act as his lieutenant. The young man speedily converted the palace into

[1] The dauphin was recognized as king of France, under the title of Louis XVII, by England and Russia, after the execution of his father. He died in his eleventh year, June 8, 1795. His sister, Maria Theresa, who was six years older, was released from prison, and eventually went to her uncle, Louis XVIII. She later became the Duchess of Angoulême, and returned to France when her uncle became king, in 1814.

[2] Barras (bä-rä').

an intrenched camp. He had seven thousand troops, or less than one fifth of the assailing party; but he planted his batteries so skillfully and used his grapeshot so effectively, that the advancing host fled in confusion, leaving the convention with their defender, Napoleon Bonaparte,[1] masters of the situation.

For the next twenty years Napoleon will be the commanding figure not only in France, but in Europe. He will establish the reign of law which the Revolution had temporarily set aside; it will be law backed by bayonets, but bayonets held by the French themselves.

195. The Italian Campaign of 1796–1797; Battle of Lodi. — The war against France on the part of Austria, Germany, and England was still going on. The Directory now determined to attack the enemy at three different points. Generals Moreau[2] and Jourdan[3] were to fight the battles of the Rhine,

[1] Napoleon Bonaparte: he was of Italian descent, and born at Ajaccio (ä-yat'chō), Corsica, August 15, 1769. It is said that the first garment in which he was wrapped was a piece of old tapestry on which the battles of the Iliad were represented. His father, Charles Bonaparte, was a brave and distinguished officer, who fought in vain against France when that power annexed the island the year before Napoleon's birth.

In 1779 Napoleon, who was destined for the army, was sent to the military school at Brienne (brē-ĕnn'), France, from which, in 1784, he went to Paris to finish his studies. At the breaking out of the Revolution, the Bonaparte family espoused the cause of the people. In 1792 Napoleon was made captain of artillery under the Republic. The next year he drove the English and Spanish forces from Toulon (which had revolted against the Republic), and restored that city to the rule of the convention. He did not become prominent again until the memorable day (October 4, 1795) when the Royalists rose against the government. Then "the little Corsican officer, who," as Barras declared, "will not stand upon ceremony," made a deep, decisive mark in French history. From that time, for nearly twenty years, his power was constantly advancing.

Napoleon had four brothers, — Jerome, Lucien, Louis, and Joseph, — three of whom he made kings; and three sisters, — Pauline, who became the Princess Borghese; Elise, who became the Duchess of Tuscany; and Caroline, who rose by marriage to become the Queen of Naples.

Napoleon's mother, Letizia Ramolino Bonaparte, was a woman of remarkable beauty, and possessed of great strength of character. She died in 1836, having outlived her famous son fifteen years. Napoleon said of her, "It is to my mother and her good principles that I owe my fortune and all the good that I have ever done."

[2] Moreau (mo-rō').

[3] Jourdan (zhoor-dŏN').

while Napoleon was to move against the allied forces of the Austrians and Piedmontese, or Sardinians, in northern Italy. The ultimate objective point sought by all three armies was Vienna, the capital of Austria.

The Directory was so poor that it could give the young Corsican general only the meager sum of four thousand louis, or less than twenty thousand dollars, to meet the expenses of the expedition. His force consisted of thirty-eight thousand destitute and disheartened soldiers, who had been beating about the maritime Alps in the vicinity of Nice[1] for two years, accomplishing nothing. With these troops he was to attack sixty thousand of the allies.

"Soldiers," said Napoleon to his army, "you are poorly fed, and almost naked. The government owes you much, but can do nothing. I am about to lead you into the most fertile plain in the world. There great cities and prosperous provinces await you. There you will find honor, glory, riches. Soldiers of the army of Italy, will you lack courage for the enterprise?"

From that hour the men were animated by a new spirit. They felt that at last they had a leader. With this army, Napoleon, following the Mediterranean shore, passed by the old Roman[2] road into Italy, on his way to the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy. In a series of victorious battles he beat first the Austrians and then the Piedmontese. In a fortnight's time he was able to make peace with the latter on his own terms.

The Austrians fell back as far as the bridge of Lodi, on the Adda.[3] There they made a stand in order to protect Milan,[4] the capital of Lombardy. Napoleon attacked and defeated them, and entered Milan in triumph. This rapidity of movement was a characteristic of Napoleon. He struck quickly,

[1] Nice (nēs).

[2] It is now the famous Corniche (cor-nē'chĭ) road, leading from Nice to Genoa. The modern road was begun by Napoleon.

[3] For these and the subsequent Napoleonic campaigns, see Map No. XII page 262.

[4] Milan (mĭl'ăn or mĭ-lăn').

unexpectedly, and hard. It was one reason why he rarely found an enemy that could stand against him.

196. Battles of Arcola and Rivoli; Treaty of Campo Formio; Robbery of Works of Art. — Napoleon next laid siege to the fortress of Mantua. Meanwhile the enemy had gathered a third army of sixty thousand men to attack the French in their headquarters at Verona. Napoleon determined to outflank them and fall upon their rear. He left Verona by the western gate, marched down the river Adige[1] for fourteen miles, crossed it, and met a strong division of the Austrians at Arcola, a village which commanded the road to Verona from the southeast.

The town was in the center of extensive marshes, and could only be reached by causeways and a wooden bridge. On these narrow approaches the battle raged for three days. In the fight Napoleon was pushed over one of these causeways, and was nearly smothered in the morass, which was filled with dead and dying men. The battle ended in the retreat of the Austrians; and Napoleon in triumph entered Verona by the eastern gate, directly opposite that by which he had sallied from the city three days before.

The final struggle came two months afterward on the plains of Rivoli. Again Napoleon conquered; and as a result of the victory, Mantua surrendered. Napoleon, now master of Italy, began his march on Vienna. But the emperor, although he had beaten the veterans, Moreau and Jourdan, in Germany, did not care to risk another battle with this young man of twenty-seven.

Negotiations were therefore opened between Austria and France. While they were in progress, an insurrection against the French broke out in the Venetian territory. Napoleon sent a body of troops to occupy Venice, and that ancient commonwealth now surrendered, after having enjoyed a political independence of nearly fourteen centuries.

[1] Adige (ăd'ĭ-jē).

In 1797 the Peace of Campo Formio ended the war. In two months Napoleon had fought and won eighteen battles, destroyed three Austrian armies that had been three times reënforced, taken a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, levied forty-five millions of francs tribute on the pope and other Italian rulers hostile to the Directory, and established the Cisalpine Republic [1] of northern Italy.

But the great prize gained by France was the entire Austrian Netherlands, or Belgium, which was now ceded to her as the result of the war.

Napoleon had begun the campaign almost without money. By his victories he had not only fed and clothed his army, but had sent ten millions of francs to the aid of the Directory, and another million to the help of the French army in Germany. Thus he upheld the home government with one hand, while he vanquished its enemies abroad with the other. He was the beginner of a new system of war. Instead of drawing on France for means to carry on his campaigns, he made his battles pay their own expenses.

Had he stopped there, it would have been well; but he did not stop. He began a new and disgraceful system of pillage. He stripped the Vatican at Rome and the churches, libraries, and picture galleries of the conquered country, of their choicest treasures, carrying paintings, statuary, books, and manuscripts

[1] This republic included Lombardy, Parma, Modena, and part of the papal dominions. It was under the control of France. The policy of republican France was to surround itself with republics. Thus in 1795 the French armies converted Holland and Belgium into the Batavian Republic; in 1798 the cantons of the Swiss Confederation were changed into the Helvetic Republic (Geneva being incorporated with France). The same year Rome was transformed into the Tiberine Republic (a name derived from the Tiber). Shortly after, Naples was proclaimed as the Parthenopean Republic (from Parthenope, an ancient name of that city, as Batavia and Helvetia were of the Netherlands and Switzerland). These commonwealths, with the exception of Switzerland, were short-lived; for when Napoleon became supreme ruler of France, he speedily changed them into monarchies, in order that his imperial throne might not lack encircling dependent kingdoms to prop it.

SKETCH MAP OF EUROPE

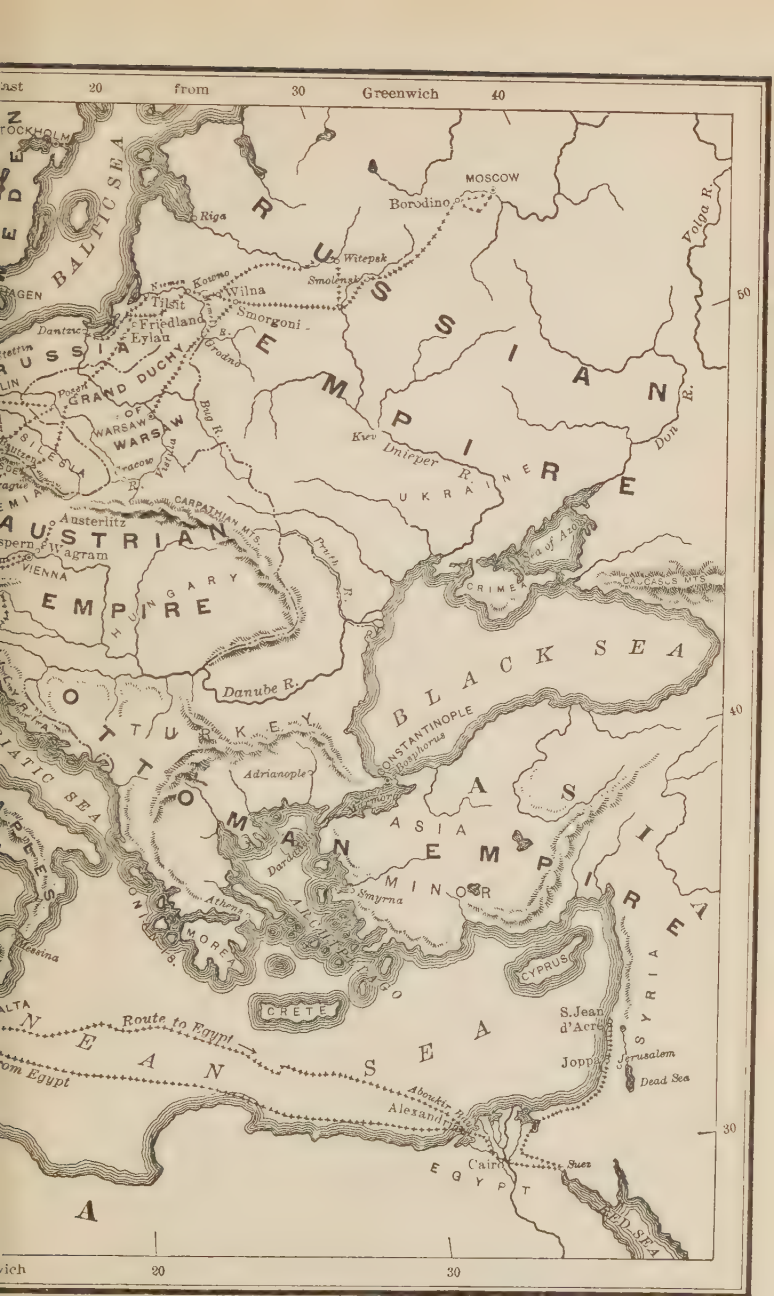
SHOWING

PRINCIPAL BATTLES OF NAPOLEON.

SCALE OF MILES

0 100 200 300 400 500

Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from


20
from
30
Greenwich
40
MOSCOW
Borodino
Riga
Witepsk
Smolensk
Volga R.
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Kowno
Wilna
Tilsit
Friedland
Eylau
Smorgoni
Dantzic
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
WARSAW
Bug R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Don R.
UKRAINE
Austerlitz
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
VIENNA
HUNGARY
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Sea of Azof
CRIMEA
CAUCASUS MTS.
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
CONSTANTINOPLE
Bosphorus
Adrianople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
Dardanelles
Smyrna
Athens
MOREA
CYPRUS
CRETE
Route to Egypt
S.Jean d'Acre
Jerusalem
Joppa
Dead Sea
Abouki Bay
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
SYRIA
50
40
30
20
30

to Paris to enrich the palace of the Louvre with stolen splendor.[1] Thus Italy was for the first time robbed of her great works of art by one who was himself an Italian.

197. Napoleon in Paris; Josephine Beauharnais; the Egyptian Expedition. — Shortly before setting out on his Italian campaign, Napoleon married Madame Josephine Beauharnais,[2] widow of Count Beauharnais, who was guillotined during the Revolution. Josephine was a person of little intellect and of less character. She was six years older than Napoleon; she was not beautiful, but she had great sweetness of disposition and remarkable charm of manner.

She brought her new husband no dowry in money; but through her close intimacy with a prominent member of the Directory[3] she appears to have secured for him the appointment to the chief command of the army of Italy.[4]

For the next thirteen years, Josephine was destined to play a most important part in Napoleon's career. He seems to have really loved her — that is, so far as he was capable of loving any one. She influenced him accordingly, and she thus became, to a certain extent, a living factor in the history of the man who molded France to his will. Napoleon now spent several months in Paris, living very quietly with his bride, and rarely going into society or exhibiting himself in public.

But to one of Napoleon's nature war was a necessity, and he soon began planning an expedition to Egypt. In this he

[1] Among the works of art carried to Paris by Napoleon were Raphael's "Transfiguration," Domenichino's "Communion of St. Jerome," and the Bronze Horses of St. Mark's. After his fall most of the stolen property was returned.

[2] Beauharnais (bō-ār-nā'): she was the daughter of a West Indian planter. She had two children by her first husband, Eugene and Hortense. Eugene became viceroy of Italy. Hortense married Napoleon's brother Louis, King of Holland, and became the mother of Napoleon III, late emperor of France. Josephine seems to have cared only for a life of pleasure. Masson, in his recent biography of her, is very severe in his judgment.

[3] See Paragraph 192.

[4] See Lanfrey's Napoleon, III. 536; but compare Sloane's Napoleon, I. 194. The former says Barras was the member of the Directory who got the appointment for Napoleon, the latter says it was Carnot.

is believed to have had a double object: first, to get the control of the Mediterranean, and next to establish an eastern empire, by which he might hope either to secure possession of India, or at least to overthrow England's supremacy in that country. The Directory, already jealous of Napoleon's popularity, was not sorry to send him on so distant and doubtful an undertaking.

He set out in the spring of 1798, with a squadron carrying thirty-six thousand veteran soldiers, most of whom had fought under him in Italy. In order to make the expedition a success, it was necessary to get possession of the strongly fortified island of Malta, then nominally in the hands of the Knights of St. John,[1] but practically an outpost of England. It was taken without a blow, through the treachery of its guards. This opened the way clear for the attack on Egypt.

Landing at Alexandria in July, Napoleon carried the place by storm. Three weeks later he encamped in the sands of the desert, near Cairo, under the shadow of the gigantic monuments of the Pharaohs. The men, exhausted by the march and by the terrible heat, were glad of a brief rest before beginning a battle with the Mamelukes,[2] those brave and highly disciplined troops who then held control of Egypt. All felt the strange spell of their surroundings in that ancient land. "Soldiers," said Napoleon, as he pointed upward, "from the summits of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon you."

That was enough to remind them that here, as in Italy, their duty was victory. Napoleon formed his men into squares, so arranged that they protected each other by their fire. Again and again the Mameluke cavalry dashed against these squares and tried to break their lines. They might as

[1] Knights of St. John: another name for the Knights Hospitalers. See Paragraph 55.

[2] The Mamelukes were originally slaves, of Circassian origin, who formed the sultan's bodyguard. After a time they became virtual masters of Egypt.

well have dashed against the bases of the pyramids. At the end of the day Cairo, with all Lower Egypt, was in Napoleon's possession.

But while the army was celebrating its triumph in that ancient city, news of disaster came. Nelson, with his fast-sailing English frigates, had pursued Napoleon's fleet, had attacked it in Aboukir Bay, off Alexandria, and had utterly destroyed every vessel but two, which escaped, only to be chased and captured.[1] This was, indeed, a tremendous blow; for it not only cut off Napoleon from France, but it encouraged England with her allies in the belief that he was less invincible than he seemed.

Not to be intimidated, Napoleon said to his generals, "This reverse will compel us to do even greater things than we had planned." Leaving a force sufficient to hold Egypt, Napoleon advanced into Syria, where, by establishing his power, he could threaten Constantinople on the one hand, and India on the other.

But the fortresses of Jaffa and of Acre stood in his way. He took the first by assault, capturing a large number of prisoners, whom he deliberately massacred, on the ground that he dared not release, and could not feed them. Acre was obstinately defended by the Turks, with their English allies under Sir Sidney Smith. Napoleon had no heavy artillery; his attack failed, and he was obliged to fall back on Egypt. Years afterward, Napoleon used to say of Sir Sidney, "That man made me miss my destiny."

198. Napoleon returns to France, and sets up a New Government; is chosen First Consul. — In October, 1799, Napoleon suddenly and secretly left Egypt, and returned, without his army, to France. He found that, during his absence, the Directory had begun a new war; that they had forced Switzerland to adopt a government modeled on that of the French

[1] For an incident of the battle, see Mrs. Hemans's poem, "Casabianca."

Republic; had plundered the Vatican at Rome of more of its treasures; and had ended by carrying off the pope to France, where he shortly after died. As for the Directory itself, it had neither influence, money, nor credit. The nation no longer believed in it, or supported it.

Napoleon put himself at the head of affairs. Knowing that he had the confidence of the people, he deliberately overthrew the government (November 9, 1799). A new constitution — the fourth since 1789 — was adopted, and under it Napoleon was chosen First Consul for ten years (December 15, 1799).

Though only First Consul, out of a body of three, Napoleon really ruled France. The country still retained the name of republic, but it was a republic where one man was supreme.

199. Napoleon's Administration; Creation of a New Nobility; the Code Napoleon. — The First Consul took decided measures to put an end to the anarchy into which public affairs had drifted. He first stopped political discussion. "In future," said he, "we will have no parties, no Jacobins,[1] no Royalists; but only Frenchmen."

He suppressed most of the newspapers, and warned the rest to be cautious. He established the Bank of France, removed restrictions from trade, and repealed the barbarous laws against the return of French noblemen.

Then, with Josephine's aid, he organized a brilliant court, which drew to it many of the best men and best minds of France. They helped to enhance the power of him who said, "I win the battles, but Josephine wins the hearts."

Important as these changes were, they were only the introduction to later ones, extending over a long series of years. Napoleon's two favorite maxims were: "The tools belong to him who can use them," and "Every career ought to be open to talent." In accordance with these ideas, he created a new

[1] See Paragraph 184.

nobility, based on merit, instead of birth or wealth. He instituted the order of the Cross of the Legion of Honor, as a reward for distinguished services; reorganized educational systems on a broader and sounder basis; established the modern University of France; and encouraged industry and mechanical invention.

Napoleon also began the construction of a great system of roads, canals, arsenals, harbors, and other public works. He adorned Paris with the magnificent Arc de Triomphe,[1] the grandest structure of the kind in the world; began the beautiful Church of the Madeleine;[2] completed that of the Panthéon,[3] and the palace of the Louvre.

In 1801 he concluded a concordat or solemn treaty with the pope, by which Catholicism was reinstated, in a somewhat modified form, as the established religion of France. The ceremony took place the next spring, with great pomp, in the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame.

Last and most remarkable work of all, Napoleon caused the compilation of the code called by his name, — the Code Napoleon. The work was begun by the revolutionary government, but left incomplete. By it the great mass of the ancient edicts of France were revised, condensed, simplified, and rendered uniform throughout the country.

"Every really good law," said the First Consul, "must have good sense for its foundation." Guided by that principle, obsolete and barbarous statutes and customs were dropped, confused and conflicting usages were harmonized, that thereby the transaction of public and private business might be facilitated, and the ends of justice more effectually served.

[1] Called, also, the Arc de l'Étoile, to distinguish it from the smaller Arc de Triomphe (Triumphal Arch) erected by Napoleon between the Louvre and the Tuileries.

[2] Napoleon intended the Madeleine (mäd-lān′) not for a church, but for a memorial temple to the Grand Army. The building was completed after his fall.

[3] Panthéon (pän-tā-ŏn′).

Napoleon thought so highly of this work that he said, "I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand." He was right; for, after the lapse of nearly a century, it constitutes the framework of law in France, Holland, Belgium, western Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, besides serving as the foundation of the code of the state of Louisiana.

Unfortunately, these beneficent acts of the ruler of France were offset by others as despotic and as irritating as those of the Bourbon kings whom he had supplanted. Napoleon was one more illustration of the fact that "most great men cast great shadows." He often showed an utter disregard of justice; and in the latter part of his career he certainly never hesitated at sacrificing truth: so that "false as a bulletin" became a familiar saying to characterize his official reports sent from the field of battle.

Nothing, in fact, was sacred that stood in the way of his inflexible and unscrupulous will. His administration centralized all power in the hands of a few officials in Paris, where it has since remained. Hence, whatever the country at large may have gained in order and prosperity, it never was allowed to learn that most valuable of all lessons, the lesson of local self-government.

200. The New Campaign in Italy; the Passage of the Alps. — Immediately after his inauguration, the First Consul wrote to George III of England and to the emperor of Germany, urging that peace should now be recognized as "the first necessity and the first glory" for all the powers of Europe.

But while thus writing, Napoleon knew that neither sovereign would make the concessions he was about to demand, and permit him to continue to hold Egypt and Malta on the one hand, and control Italy on the other. The new year (1800) opened with preparations for war. Hostilities began in Italy, where the Austrian forces now outnumbered the French nearly four to one.

In the outset, before Napoleon resumed the command, the French were badly beaten. But the First Consul was prepared for that. With a great map of Italy spread out before him he planned the whole campaign before he left Paris. He designated the different armies by different colors. "Here," said he to his astonished secretary, "the Austrian general will pass by Turin; here, he will fall back toward Alessandria.[1] At this point I shall cross the Po. I shall meet the enemy on the plains of Scrivia, and there," said he, sticking a pin in the map near Marengo, "there I shall fight and beat him."

To make the movement a complete surprise to the enemy, Napoleon conceived the idea of crossing the Alps. The general who was sent to examine routes proposed that of the Great St. Bernard,[2] but added that the undertaking would be "very difficult." "Difficult, of course," replied Napoleon; "the only question is, is it possible?" "Yes," was the response; "providing we make extraordinary efforts." "Enough," said Napoleon; "let us start at once."

The march began at midnight (May 14, 1800). It was soon found that the cannon could not be dragged on wheels up the heights and through the snow. The guns were accordingly taken from their carriages, and each was placed in a log hollowed out to receive it; then a hundred men were harnessed to the gun and began to draw it forward.

When the obstacles grew serious and the team slackened its pace, the bands played lively music to encourage them. When the snow grew so deep and the road so steep that advance seemed impossible, the drummers beat the charge. Then the men, with loud cheers, dashed forward as if storming the enemy's works, and up went the guns.

Thus they advanced until they reached a narrow defile which the Austrians had impregnably fortified. There the

[1] Alessandria is about ten miles northwest of Marengo.

[2] Pass of St. Bernard, northwest of Turin. The other principal passes are that of Mont Cenis (west of Turin) and that of St. Gotnard (northeast of Turin)

army separated; part went round the fort in single file, following a goat track over the rocks; the others dragged the artillery by in the night, under a furious fire from the enemy. Thus within six days Napoleon with thirty-five thousand men passed over a rocky, snow-covered barrier more than eight thousand feet high, and came down like an avalanche on the plains of Italy.

201. Battles of Marengo and of Hohenlinden. — To the enemy it was a complete surprise. For some time the Austrian general refused to believe what seemed to him impossible. He denied that even Napoleon's military genius and marvelous energy could in so short a time have transported a fully equipped army with heavy artillery over such obstacles. But skeptic as he was, Marengo convinced him that Napoleon was there. On the plains which the First Consul had marked on the map in the palace of the Tuileries, the great battle was fought (June 14, 1800).

The contest was an obstinate one. By three o'clock in the afternoon the French had been twice driven back. Then came the final struggle. "My friends," said Napoleon to his soldiers, "we have had enough of this. You know that it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle." Then the fight began in earnest. When it ended, Napoleon and his men could sleep undisturbed on the triumphant field; for the Austrian general had surrendered, and the northwest of Italy was once more in the hands of the French.

In Germany Moreau had an army of one hundred thousand at Munich.[1] Near by was the little village of Hohenlinden,[2] situated in a pine forest on the river Isar. Here, in December (1800), a desperate battle was fought in the midst of a

[1] Munich (mū'nĭk).

[2] Few, few shall part, where many meet!
The snow shall be their winding-sheet,
And every turf beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre. — CAMPBELL'S "Hohenlinden."

snowstorm so blinding that the contending forces could see each other only by the flash of their guns. Moreau gained a decisive victory, and the emperor of Germany was compelled to beg peace in order to save his capital of Vienna.

The Treaty of Lunéville,[1] in 1801, confirmed to France all that the Treaty of Campo Formio had granted.[2] Napoleon was to hold the left bank of the Rhine, with the entire Austrian Netherlands. In Italy, the republics of the northwest were recognized as dependencies of France, while Austria was confined to a part of the country east of the Adige.

202. Successes of the English; the Rosetta Stone; Treaty of Amiens. — But if Napoleon was everywhere victorious on land, the English under Nelson still ruled the sea. They had already captured Malta, and they now undertook to put a stop to all trade with France on the part of the neutral nations of Europe. The kingdoms of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden had formed an armed league against this action of England. But Nelson's fleet forced Denmark to withdraw from the league, and the death of the czar, then Napoleon's friend, broke it up.

The English shortly after drove the French out of Egypt. Perhaps the most important result of Napoleon's three years' occupation of that country was the antiquarian and scientific researches made under his management in that ancient land. Among these the discovery of the Rosetta Stone ranks first in importance, since by means of it the fast-sealed treasures of Egyptian history were made known.[3]

[1] Lunéville (lü-nā-vēl′). [2] See Paragraph 196.

[3] Rosetta Stone: this is a slab of black basalt found not far from Rosetta, about forty miles northeast of Alexandria, near the westerly branch of the Nile. It bears an inscription in honor of one of the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt. This inscription is in Greek, and is followed by two copies, in the ancient Egyptian (hieroglyphic and demotic) characters. The study of these characters, through the Greek, first gave the clew to the deciphering of the inscriptions on the tombs and monuments of Egypt. The stone is now preserved in the Egyptian Room of the British Museum.

In revenge for the loss of Malta and Egypt, with the breaking up of the neutral league, which, of course, favored France, Napoleon began making preparations to invade England. England with truth declared herself the champion of constitutional liberty. In her eyes Bonaparte was simply a new kind of despot — or military demagogue — who posed as a popular deliverer. But both nations found it for their interest to make at least a temporary peace, if only to get ready more effectually for the final struggle. A treaty was therefore signed between England and France at Amiens [1] in the spring of 1802. By this treaty France secured the whole territory between the Pyrenees and the Rhine; in other words, the old boundaries possessed by primitive Gaul.

203. Napoleon chosen First Consul for Life; Sale of Louisiana; Toussaint Louverture. — The summer following, France voted to make Napoleon First Consul for life, with the privilege of choosing his successor; and the constitution was reconstructed in accordance with this change. Napoleon now virtually assumed the absolute control of the Italian and Swiss republics, and also undertook to regulate the affairs of Germany. It was evident that the First Consul meant to magnify his new office, and make it cover not only the government of France, Belgium, North Italy, and Switzerland, but as much more of Europe as would submit to his dictation.

Meanwhile, that he might better prepare for his great combat with England, Napoleon sold the territory of Louisiana [2] to the United States for sixty millions of francs; [3] thus gaining a considerable sum, and at the same time strengthening the United States, then England's rival and bitter enemy. "It is for the interest of France," said he, in reference to this sale, "that America should be great and strong."

[1] Amiens (ä′mĭ-ăN). [2] See Paragraph 152.

[3] The original price asked was eighty millions; but Napoleon allowed twenty millions to the United States for damages claimed by them, on account of the French wars. See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.

Napoleon next sent an expedition to restore the revolted French colony of San Domingo to its allegiance. The slaves, stirred by the news of the Revolution, had risen and declared themselves independent. Toussaint Louverture,[1] a negro of remarkable ability, had become ruler of the island and proudly called himself "the Bonaparte of the blacks." He submitted his constitution of government to Napoleon for his approval, and was willing to be guided by him.

But the First Consul would tolerate no second "Bonaparte," not even if he was a negro three thousand miles from Paris. He ordered Toussaint to be brought a captive to France. Then, instead of showing himself a magnanimous conqueror, he treated his humble foe with such rigorous cruelty that he soon died.[2] Whatever other blots on Napoleon's character time may mercifully efface, this deliberate murder of a helpless prisoner will forever remain inexcusable and infamous.

204. Rupture of the Peace of Amiens; Plots against the First Consul; Napoleon becomes Emperor. — In the spring of 1803 the Peace of Amiens was broken. England seized a large number of French vessels, and Napoleon arrested and imprisoned several thousand Englishmen who were traveling or residing within his dominions. The real cause of the war, however, was England's refusal to give up Malta. The contest which thus began lasted ten years. Before this, England and the kings of Europe had been the aggressors, their object being to restore the Bourbons to the throne of France; but in the struggle which now commenced Napoleon struck the first blow.

Plots, or pretended plots, were now discovered for the assassination of the First Consul, and the conspirators were summarily dealt with. In one of them it was said that the Duke of Enghien,[3]

[1] Toussaint Louverture (too-săN′ loo-vĕr-tür′).
[2] Some authorities state that he was starved to death in his dungeon.
[3] Enghien (ŏN-găN′).

a member of the French royal family, was involved. He was executed on insufficient proof, and most authorities regard his death as another case of judicial murder.

These conspiracies roused all France to the enthusiastic support of Napoleon, and in order to show their loyalty, the people, by a practically unanimous vote, now elected him Emperor (May 18, 1804). The December following, the pope made a special journey to Paris to give the sanction of the Church to the popular will. He anointed the new sovereign "Emperor of the French" with imposing religious ceremonies in the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame.

Napoleon then crowned himself and the weeping Josephine, with his own hands, with a golden laurel wreath. It was a significant act. It marked the beginning of a new order of royalty in France. Louis XIV and his successors declared that they ruled by divine and hereditary right; Napoleon acknowledged that he derived his power from the choice of the nation. The next spring he crossed the Alps, and, placing the ancient iron crown of Lombardy on his head, received the title of King of Italy.

205. Preparation for the Invasion of England; Trafalgar. — England, Russia, and Austria joined forces against the new emperor and king. Napoleon retorted by resuming preparations for the invasion of England. He organized a camp at Boulogne,[1] within sight of the English chalk cliffs of Dover. There he constructed powerful batteries to protect the gathering of his forces for embarkation. All France resounded with preparation for the expedition against "perfidious Albion." The shipyards on every river were busy day and night building gunboats, barges, and transports.

Napoleon's plan was to have Admiral Villeneuve,[2] with a combined French and Spanish fleet, guard the Channel, while

[1] Boulogne (bōō-lōn').
[2] Villeneuve (vēl-nuv').

he crossed with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand veteran soldiers.

So confident did Napoleon feel of entire success that he anticipated the conquest of the British capital by ordering a gold medal to be prepared, representing France as master of England, and bearing the inscription, "Struck at London in 1804." But Nelson was on the watch; and although baffled for a time by Villeneuve's cunning, he finally got an opportunity to attack him.

The battle was fought off Cape Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).[1] At the cost of his own life, Nelson destroyed the French and Spanish fleets so completely that Admiral Villeneuve committed suicide rather than report the defeat to Napoleon. This victory gave the English the absolute mastery of the ocean, and all fears of a French invasion were now at an end.

206. Napoleon at Ulm; his "Continental System"; he takes Vienna; Battle of Austerlitz. — A short time before this disaster occurred, Napoleon had given up, or at least indefinitely postponed, his projected attack on England. Finding that Villeneuve, who was then cooped up in the harbor of Cadiz, could not coöperate with him at the time appointed, he suddenly broke camp at Boulogne, and turned all his forces against Austria. That power had planned with Russia to surprise Napoleon; but the surprise was on the other side, for to their amazement he suddenly appeared before the city of Ulm.[2] There he forced Mack, the Austrian general, to surrender; and then set off on his victorious march for Vienna.

Henceforth the French emperor adopted a different policy toward his British enemies. We hear no more boastful talk about leaping "that ditch," as he contemptuously called the English Channel. Instead of that, Napoleon will mature a scheme for starving England into submission, by endeavoring

[1] Trafalgar (tra-fal'gär, English pronunciation): on the southern coast of Spain.

[2] Ulm: in Germany.

through his "Continental System" to shut out her commerce from all the ports of Europe and America.

Meanwhile he advanced on the Austrian capital and entered it in triumph. Less than three weeks afterwards, Napoleon encountered the combined forces of the czar and the German emperor at Austerlitz[1] (December 2, 1805). Here his military genius showed its preëminence in a series of marvelous combinations and rapid strategic movements, which enabled him to gain one of the most brilliant and also one of the most heartless successes of his life. The enemy held a position of great advantage and largely outnumbered the French. But Napoleon by a feigned attack drew them into a cunningly prepared trap, and they fell entirely into his power.

As the Russians in retreat were crossing the frozen ponds at the foot of the heights of Austerlitz, the French artillery, with their grapeshot, cut down company after company as a stalwart mower cuts down tall standing grass.

Napoleon, who was standing on an eminence, saw that the battle was his, but he also saw how he could make the victory more complete. He ordered the gunners to depress their cannon so that the balls would strike the ice in front and behind the compact mass of the retreating enemy. The plan succeeded perfectly. Under a furious cannonade the ice gave way, and multitudes of Russians were in an instant engulfed in the deep waters. This massacre finished the day.

"Soldiers," said the great destroyer to his men, "I am proud of you. When you reënter your homes you need but say, 'I was at Austerlitz,' and you will be welcomed as a hero." The next day Napoleon wrote to Josephine:

3d Dec. 1805.

I have beaten the Russian and Austrian armies commanded by the two emperors. I am a little tired. . . . I go to sleep for two or three hours. The Russian army is not only beaten, but destroyed. I embrace you. NAPOLEON.

[1] Austerlitz: in Austria.

Napoleon granted peace on his own terms. Austria relinquished all claims to Italy and all influence over Switzerland. From the cannon he had taken, the French emperor erected the magnificent bronze memorial column which stands in Paris in the Place Vendôme.[1]

207. Reconstruction of Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands; Napoleon King of Kings. — Next, the emperor proceeded to reconstruct Germany. Francis II was forced to give up the imperial crown, and was known henceforth as Emperor of Austria only. The old German empire, which had stood for a thousand years, and which was composed of several hundred discordant states, was henceforth dissolved, and a league formed of sixteen of the most powerful princes.

These new states agreed to accept Napoleon as protector and virtual master. In one sense, it was a step toward that unification of Germany which that country has since accomplished. Napoleon's motive in forming the confederation was to destroy the power of Austria and Prussia, in order that he might aspire to become a second Charlemagne.

But this was only the beginning of the new system which Napoleon had conceived. He was resolved to rule over an empire surrounded and guarded by a belt of dependent thrones. To this end he now seized the kingdom of Naples, and placed the crown on the head of his brother Joseph. Next, he converted the republic of the Netherlands into a monarchy, and gave it to his brother Louis, with the title of King of Holland. Last of all he carved out nineteen dukedoms in Italy, and bestowed them on those who he knew would do his will.

It was a grand system of centralization with the newly made emperor of France as supreme arbiter and king maker. But Napoleon, though not yet satisfied, had for the present to

[1] Vendôme (vŏn-dōm′): the column was pulled down by the communist mob in 1871, but was reërected.

turn his attention to other matters than the aggrandizement of himself, his family, and his friends.

208. Defeat of Prussia; the Berlin Decree; Peace of Tilsit. — The northern powers now became thoroughly alarmed at the schemes of this man who threatened to get the control of all Europe. A fourth coalition was formed against France, consisting of England, Russia, Sweden, Saxony, and Prussia, a country that had long stood neutral. The war recommenced (1806). In the two tremendous battles of Jena[1] and Auerstädt,[2] fought on the same day, Napoleon completely humbled the Prussian monarchy so that its independence was nearly destroyed.

Thus in the space of a few hours his veteran troops accomplished what all the might of Austria, France, and Russia had been unable to effect in the Seven Years' War of the preceding century.[3]

Napoleon then entered the capital of Prussia, and there issued that Berlin Decree which forbade all trade or intercourse with England (November 21, 1806). The following year he issued a still more stringent decree at Milan, for the purpose of extending and enforcing the former measure.

The remnant of the Prussian forces united with the Russian army and made a stand at Eylau,[4] where a fierce but indecisive battle was fought. A few months later the French gained the victory of Friedland,[5] and then the Peace of Tilsit was made (July, 1807). By that treaty Prussia had to give up a large part of her territory. Out of a portion of it, lying west of the Elbe,[6] Napoleon created the kingdom of Westphalia. This he gave to his brother Jerome, thus adding one more sovereign to the frontier guard of honor of the French empire, and one more sovereign dependent on this earthly "King of Kings."

[1] Jena (yay'nah).
[2] Auerstädt (ow'er-stett).
[3] See Paragraph 166.
[4] Eylau (ī'lou): in Prussia.
[5] Friedland (frēt'länt): in Prussia.
[6] Elbe (elb).

209. Seizure of the Thrones of Portugal and Spain; the Peninsular War. — But there were still fields of conquest in the southwest, and in order to complete the circle of dependent kingdoms Napoleon must round out his acquisitions by getting possession of Spain and Portugal.

This last-mentioned power was the friend and ally of England, and was now the only important nation in western Europe which he had not compelled to shut its ports against English trade, though his "Continental System,"[1] as he called it, had nowhere been more than a partial success. He tempted Spain to act as his ally. An army was sent to Lisbon, and such was the fear of the French that that city succumbed without resistance, and the king was driven into exile.

Napoleon next turned his attention to Spain. She was his friend; but in war Napoleon knew no friends. He cunningly managed to get the Spanish king into his power, compelled him to abdicate, and then placed his brother Joseph, King of Naples, on the throne, giving Joseph's former kingdom to his favorite, General Murat.[2] But the Spaniards resented this appropriation of their country. They rose in rebellion and forced Joseph to abandon the capital of Madrid, and finally to give up all Spain except a portion bordering on the Pyrenees. It was the first real reverse that Napoleon had met.

Meanwhile the English sent over an army under Sir Arthur Wellesley (better known later as the Duke of Wellington) to complete the work of driving out the French, and to restore Portugal and Spain to their respective kings. Thus began in 1808 what was called the Peninsular War, which lasted for several years. In a series of campaigns victory alternated to the side of the English and the French.

At length Napoleon had to draw off the larger part of his forces and give all his attention to Russia, and then

[1] See Paragraph 206. [2] Murat (mü-rä').

Wellesley gained the day. Years afterward, when a captive at St. Helena, Napoleon said of his attack on Spain, "That disastrous war was my ruin. It divided my strength, opened a way for the English, and injured my reputation throughout Europe."

210. Napoleon's Quarrel with the Pope. — Meantime the emperor of the French had struck himself another suicidal blow. He quarreled with the pope, who wished to remain neutral; but Napoleon insisted that, since His Holiness was a temporal sovereign,[1] he was bound to aid him in shutting out English commerce from Europe.

Finally the emperor sent an army to Rome and annexed it to France. The pope retorted by excommunicating him. Napoleon, not to be outdone, carried off the pope to France as a prisoner, and kept him there as long as his power lasted. Such an act of violence, to quote the words attributed to a noted man of that day, "was worse than a crime; it was a blunder." It united the Catholic clergy of France and of all Europe against him, so that in future he had powerful enemies at home as well as abroad.

The year following, Louis Bonaparte, disgusted with his brother's policy toward Holland, resigned the crown of that kingdom. The emperor then united it with France, saying that the country was nothing but "the sediment of French rivers."

211. Battle of Wagram; Napoleon at the Height of his Power; Divorce and Marriage. — Napoleon's want of success in the war in Spain made him anxious to gain new victories elsewhere. He accordingly provoked a quarrel with Austria. Russia was temporarily his political ally; but England did all in her power to thwart his movements. Austria, though not quite ready for the contest, burned to revenge the humiliation of Austerlitz[2] and to recover the territory she had lost in

[1] See Paragraph 22. [2] See Paragraph 206.

French Empire and Dependent States
Austrian
Prussian
Swedish
Savoyard
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
LONDON
FRENCH EMPIRE
SPAIN
PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Danzig
Hague
Amsterdam
Berlin
Warsaw
DUCHY OF WARSAW
Boulogne
Brussels
Cologne
Waterloo
Aix la Chapelle
Erfurt
Jena
Dresden
Cracow
GALICIA
Rouen
Mayence
Treves
Prague
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Metz
PARIS
Fontainbleau
Strasbourg
BAVARIA
Hohenlinden
Vienna
Pesth
HUNGARY
Nantes
Napoleon
Vendée
Bern
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
Lyon
Geneva
Milan
Venice
SLAVONIA
Bordeaux
Turin
Genoa
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
BOSNIA
SERVIA
St. Sebastian
Toulouse
Nice
Marseille
Florence
KM OF ITALY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MONTENEGRO
Zaragoza
CORSICA
ROME
KM OF NAPLES
Naples
KM OF SARDINIA
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
WESTPHALIA
BADEN
WURTEMBURG
SAXONY
SILESIA
R. Seine
R. Loire
R. Rhone
R. Elbe
R. Vistula
R. Bug
R. Danube
R. Inn
CENTRAL EUROPE
1810.

Italy. She was also jealous of the friendly relations of France with the czar.

In the war which ensued the Austrians gained some advantages, but they were not permanent. The battle of Aspern,[1] though rather in their favor, was by no means decisive. The crisis came at Wagram [2] (July 6, 1809), when the Austrian army was utterly overthrown. By the Peace of Vienna which followed, France gained still further cessions of territory.

Napoleon was now, seemingly, at the height of his power. "He had the air," one of his friends said, "of one walking in a halo of glory." In fact, if we except his reverses in Spain, there appeared to be no bounds to his success.

He had extended France to the shores of the Baltic on the north, and beyond Rome on the south.[3] He had surrounded his imperial throne with subject kingdoms under his brothers. To Louis he had given the crown of Holland; to Jerome, that of Westphalia; to Joseph, that of Spain. He was ready to place his remaining brother, Lucien, on a throne whenever Lucien could make up his mind to do his will. Two of his sisters were princesses, and the third was queen of Naples.

On the battlefield he had beaten the mightiest armies of Europe, and dictated his own terms of peace. He had driven the kings from the thrones of Portugal and Spain, and expected sooner or later to obtain their dominions.

He had crippled if not paralyzed English commerce in a large part of the world by his Berlin Decree.[4] He had filled Paris with the splendid spoils of conquest. He had cast down the pope from power, and seized his possessions. He indeed appeared irresistible. As a distinguished French statesman [5] said, "France gave herself to him, absorbed herself in him, and seemed, at one time, no longer to think except through him."

1 Aspern: in Austria.
2 Wagram: in Austria.
3 See Map No. XIV, page 280.
4 See Paragraph 208.
5 Thiers.

To make his glory complete, he must secure its transmission in the line of his own descent. Napoleon was childless: if he continued so, then when he died, the great empire would crumble. He was resolved to ally himself by marriage with royal blood, that he might found a family which should take its place at the head of the ruling dynasties of Europe.

In accordance with this purpose, the emperor sought and obtained a divorce from Josephine.[1]

He issued the proclamation announcing it from the palace of Fontainebleau,[2] little thinking that in a few years he would be compelled to sign his abdication in the same palace. Then, in 1810, he made the vanquished emperor of Austria give him the hand of the Princess Marie Louise. By her he had a son in 1811, who received the title of King of Rome.

But the marriage was a fatal step. As an eminent French writer says, "When Napoleon divorced himself from the devoted Josephine, he seems to have divorced himself from his good genius." However that may be, it is certain that his misfortunes began from this time; defeat became the rule, victory the exception. Humiliation followed humiliation, until the final and irrecoverable fall.

212. The Russian Campaign. — In order to strike a blow at England, Napoleon now resolved to attack Russia, with whose ruler he was no longer on good terms, since he had refused to close his ports against English trade. The emperor was determined to bring the czar to terms, and, while he humbled him, to cripple still further the commerce of his old enemy, England, boasting the security of her island home.

The preparations for the invasion of the North were on a scale commensurate with the importance of the object sought. Napoleon raised an army of six hundred thousand

[1] See Paragraph 197.

[2] Fontainebleau (fôN-tăn-blō'): near Paris.

NAPOLEON AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER

men. In the summer of 1812 he crossed the Niemen,[1] and began his march on Moscow.

The policy of the Russians was to avoid an encounter. They kept falling back. As fast as they retreated, they burned their villages and fields of grain. Napoleon's army advanced through a desolated country. It was a march from one pile of smoldering ruins to another. There was something ominous in such a campaign.

At last, after ten weeks had elapsed, when Napoleon had penetrated the country for nearly five hundred miles, the enemy came to a stand. At Borodino a desperate battle was fought, in which the French came off victors. The way was now clear for an advance on Moscow. A week after his engagement at Borodino, Napoleon entered the ancient capital of Russia (September 14, 1812).

No one opposed him. The place was silent and nearly deserted. Only the refuse of the population remained. The French gave themselves up to pillage and to festivity. Suddenly they discovered, to their consternation, that the city was on fire. The troops tried in vain to stop the flames. But the work of destruction had been carefully planned. The Russians had applied the torch at different points, and the fire speedily became a conflagration.

Even Napoleon was appalled. "Who would have believed," cried he, "that any people would burn their own capital?" In five days the city was in ashes, and the French were without shelter, with but scant rations of food, and with the terrible Russian winter drawing near. Still, something might have been done; but for once Napoleon seemed to have lost his power of decision. He wasted precious time that he might have used either for an advance or a retreat.

[1] Niemen (nyĕm′ĕn): also called the Memel. Napoleon crossed the river in Russian Poland, about ninety miles southeast of Tilsit. The upper dotted line on the map (No. XIII, page 262) shows the march to Moscow; the lower dotted line, the retreat from that city.

213. The Retreat from Moscow. — Finally the word was given to begin the retreat. No one can adequately realize what it must have cost Napoleon's proud nature to utter such an order. Then came the disastrous march through a country which was utterly desolate. It was a funeral march; for, even before the first flake of snow fell, Napoleon had lost nearly a quarter of a million of men and over seventy thousand horses. The retreat continued for eight weeks, the last part of it through drifting snow and amid intense frost.

It was such a battle as Napoleon had never waged. It was one long, hopeless fight with hunger and cold. The ragged, shivering, starving troops threw away their useless arms. They staggered on, day after day, through the snow, until their strength gave out and they fell to the ground. The falling flakes soon covered them; and hundreds of little white hillocks appeared, each one of which showed where one or more dead soldiers lay.[1]

On the outskirts of the sad procession the Russian cavalry hovered to harass and kill. At last the miserable remnant of the imperial army reached and recrossed the Niemen, but few of them ever gained their homes. France was decimated. There was hardly a peasant's fireside where some grief-stricken mother was not mourning for her son, left unburied, a frozen corpse, on the plains of Russia. In all the sorrowful annals of the history of war, this retreat stands out the most terrible and the most disastrous.

It was at this time that Béranger's famous song appeared, in which the French poet satirized the insatiable and ruinous ambition of Napoleon by his ironical picture of the "Good Little King of Yvetot," [2] whose only crown was a cotton nightcap, who never fought a battle, or cared a fig for glory.[3]

[1] See Count Ségur's narrative of Napoleon's retreat in The Two Great Retreats of History (Ginn & Company, Boston). [2] Yvetot (ēv-tō′).
[3] Béranger (bā-rŏN-zhā′): see the poem in Thackeray's translation.

214. The Defeat of Leipsic; Napoleon sent to Elba. — Then all Europe rose in a fifth coalition to crush the fallen giant. England, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Austria massed a million of men against France. But even then Napoleon would not yield. He raised a second army. It was little better than "an army of boys," for the country had few men left to give. The decisive struggle came at Leipsic[1] in the autumn of 1813, and Napoleon was beaten.

The allied forces invaded France from both north and south. Paris could not defend itself. The enemies' hosts passed through her gates. They placed Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI,[2] on the throne. Napoleon was forced to abdicate, and, it is said, took poison, but without effect. He was now sent an exile to rule over the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean. That speck on the map of Europe was all the kingdom or dominion he had left.

215. The Escape from Elba; The Hundred Days (March 20 to June 22, 1815); Waterloo. — In less than a twelvemonth (March 1, 1815) he escaped to France. He marched in triumph to Paris, and entered the capital on the 20th of March. Louis XVIII had fled in dismay the day before. But Napoleon was no longer what he had been. He had lost faith in himself. While making preparations for the great and final combat with Europe, he said, "I have a presentiment of evil."

A congress of sovereigns was then sitting at Vienna rearranging the map of Europe. They had given the Belgians a king, and allotted certain provinces on the Rhine to Prussia. The English, under the Duke of Wellington, were in Belgium to establish their new king on his throne; and Blücher,[3] the most famous of the Prussian generals, was in the Rhenish provinces not far off with another army. The plan was for the Russians to join forces with the Prussians and English, and march on Paris. Napoleon decided not to wait for them, but to invade

[1] Leipsic: in Germany. [2] See Paragraph 194. [3] Blücher (bloo'ker).

Belgium and destroy Blücher's and Wellington's armies, one after the other, before they had an opportunity to unite.

The emperor crossed the Belgian frontier on June 14 (1815). On the 16th an engagement took place with the enemy. The great, final battle was fought on Sunday, June 18, at Waterloo,[1] a hamlet about twelve miles southeast of Brussels. The allied forces were nearly two to one of the French.[2] The rain had fallen heavily all day Saturday, and the mud was so deep that the horses could scarcely drag the cannon through it. While the church bells were ringing for morning service, the preparations for the conflict were completed. The fight began about an hour later (11.30).

Wellington's policy was to hold his position until joined by the entire Prussian force, which he hourly expected. But there was delay. As the day wore on, and the "Iron Duke" saw line after line of his men fall under the murderous French fire, he was heard to say, "O that night or Blücher would come!" On the other hand, Napoleon was looking with equal anxiety for the coming of a strong French division under General Grouchy. Toward evening Blücher's forces arrived, but nothing was seen of Grouchy's battalions.

The battle now grew desperate. As a last resort Napoleon ordered part of his Imperial Guard — a body of picked veterans, familiarly known as the "Old Guard" — to charge the enemy. They advanced, but only to fall back at last in confusion, cut to pieces by a storm of grapeshot from batteries at the front, side, and rear. Seeing the Guard retreat, the French lost all hope, and, with a cry of despair, thousands turned and fled.

[1] Waterloo: see, by way of illustration, Victor Hugo's description of the battle in his Les Misérables, and Byron's lines, beginning "There was a sound of revelry by night," in Childe Harold, Canto III.

[2] Napoleon had 122,401 men, many of whom were veterans. Wellington had 105,950, "the worst army," he said, "ever brought together." Blücher had a disciplined force of 116,897. Total allied army, 222,847.

German Confederation
Austrian
Prussian
England and Hanover
Netherlands
Danish
French
Savoyard
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
LONDON
Amsterdam
Hague
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruxelles
Bordeaux
Toulouse
SPAIN
Nantes
Rouen
PARIS
Luxemburg
Metz
Strasbourg
Bodogne
Köln
Frankfurt
Main
Hamburg
Bremen
HANOVER
Lubeck
MECKLENBURG
HOLSTEIN
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Berlin
POSEN
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
Leipzig
WEIMAR
Dresden
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Regensbg.
Munich
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Pesth
HUNGARY
EMPIRE
RUSSIA
POLAND
Warsaw
Bern
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
SLAVONIA
BANAT
CROATIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
DALMATIA
MONTENEGRO
Milan
Venice
Turin
Genoa
Modena
Bologna
Florence
Sn. Marino
Leghorn
ELBA
TUSCANY
ROME
Naples
CORSICA
KM. OF SARDINIA
Nizza
Marseille
CONFEDERATION
CENTRAL EUROPE
1815.

But a remnant of the Old Guard, taking up a position on an eminence, determined to hold their ground. The enemy were thirty to one against them, and repeatedly summoned them to surrender. They refused, saying, "The Guard dies, but never surrenders." Whether they made this reply in words has been disputed, but no one has ever disputed that they did better — they acted it.

The enemy captured none but the wounded and the dying. As the immortal three hundred fell at Thermopylæ, so fell the remnant of the Old Guard.

When all was over, Wellington said to Blücher as they stood on a height surveying the bloody field, "A great victory is the saddest thing on earth, except a great defeat."

216. The Second Abdication; St. Helena. — Napoleon succeeded in escaping and reaching Paris. His presentiment of evil was fulfilled. The end had come. Years afterward he said, "I ought to have died at Waterloo." His brother tried to encourage him to make one more effort, saying, "Dare." But "the spring of that terrible will was broken," and he only answered, "I have dared too much."

On June 22 he drew up his second act of abdication, in which he declared, "My public life is finished. I proclaim my son Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon II." Thus ended the final period of the reign of Napoleon; it had lasted not quite a hundred days.

He intended to take refuge in the United States, but failed to escape. Then, knowing that he had few friends in France, he gave himself up to the English authorities. They, with the consent of the other European powers, sent him a prisoner for life to the desolate rock of St. Helena. There, in silence and solitude, the man who had so long held the destinies of nations in his hands spent six years of mental torture, "eating his own heart."

There he reviewed his past and wrote those memoirs of himself in which he deliberately falsified history. He died

May 5, 1821, at the age of fifty-two. In a codicil to his will he left ten thousand francs to an officer who had attempted to assassinate the Duke of Wellington, saying that "the man had as much right to kill that oligarchist as the latter had to send me to perish on the rock of St. Helena."

217. Estimate of Napoleon's Character and Work. — The secret of Napoleon's fall was his utter selfishness. He began nobly by loving France; he ended by caring only for himself. Theoretically he believed in God. He even rebuked the professed atheists of his day by pointing to the starry heavens with the question, "Gentlemen, who made all that?"

But practically his god was his own will; to that he sacrificed everything. He cared absolutely nothing for human life. To him a soldier was simply a military machine, whose sole work was to kill or to be killed; it made little difference which, so long as he won a victory for his master. It is said that even his own mother never believed in his apparent success, but was constantly laying aside money to meet the final catastrophe. Much as the great general professed to care for his adopted country, he proved in many respects to be her worst enemy.

In twenty years his victorious armies had entered nearly every capital on the continent of Europe, save St. Petersburg and Constantinople. Milan, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Madrid, Venice, Lisbon, Brussels, Amsterdam, Moscow, — not one had been able to resist him. But to gain these short-lived triumphs Napoleon had drained France of her young men. He left the country, at last, poorer, weaker, and geographically smaller than he found it.[1]

If we except his public works and his code,[2] everything that he undertook finally failed. Last of all, the son for whose

[1] When Napoleon was chosen First Consul, France included, by the Treaty of Campo Formio (see Paragraph 196), Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. After his abdication the European powers reduced France to the old limits that she had during the Revolution, as represented by Map No. XII, page 238.

[2] See Paragraph 199.

NAPOLEON ON HIS WAY TO ST. HELENA

sake he had sacrificed Josephine, and who he hoped would succeed him, died, and thus all possibilities of a Napoleonic dynasty ended.

But it would be a serious error to suppose that the career of this mighty destroyer of men and builder of kingdoms had no lasting results. On the contrary, he was a powerful agent for good. Though he founded a military despotism, yet no man ever broke more despotisms to pieces, or did more to lay the foundation of constitutional monarchy. The principles of political liberty and equality born of the French Revolution were disseminated by his armies, and whatever progress has since been made in the recognition of the rights of man, Europe owes it largely to the conquests of Napoleon.

He humiliated Germany; but he helped her to throw off a multitude of antiquated and oppressive restrictions. He first stirred Italy to newness of life. He roused "the idea of nationality," and since his death the conviction that people of the same blood ought to be under the same political rule "has been the guiding influence in European politics."

He also, as we have seen, gave his sanction and contributed his thought to the establishment of that excellent digest of law — the Code Napoleon — which regulates the administration of justice for upwards of ninety millions of men in the foremost ranks of civilization.[1]

When Napoleon fell, a great reaction set in. The sovereigns of Europe labored to destroy what he had done, and to restore monarchical privilege and prerogative at the expense of the people. They succeeded in a measure; they brought back the form, but could not prevent that form from being permeated by a different thought and spirit. Thus, in spite of them, their old bottles were filled with new wine, which in the end proved damaging to the bottles.

Through the revolutions which have followed, the leading European nations have been reconstructed in no small degree

[1] See Paragraph 199.

according to the lines laid down by the great French general. The books and pamphlets on this wonderful man fill some hundreds of volumes. The judgments passed on him are almost as numerous as the writers.

However difficult it may be to come to a conclusion in regard to his motives, the actual results of his life are tolerably clear. Considering these, perhaps we shall be justified in affirming that on the whole the world has good reason to be thankful for, if not to, Napoleon.

218. **Summary.** — The entire period covering nearly twenty years is filled with this one great name of Napoleon. Through his energy and genius France emerged from the anarchy of the Revolution, and became, outwardly at least, a strong, united, law-abiding nation. Through his ambition she conquered, but then lost, a large part of Europe. Finally, through the instrumentality of Napoleon, the principles of constitutional and political progress were to a large extent disseminated and eventually established.

SECTION XIV

France has not lost, and will not lose, courage. She is laboring; she is hoping; and while endeavoring to find her proper path, she looks forward to the day when revolutions will be at an end, and when liberty with order will forever crown the long and painful efforts of her most faithful servants of every name and period. — Guizot De Witt.

FRANCE SINCE NAPOLEON I (1815–)

Louis XVIII, 1815–1824.
Charles X, 1824–1830.
Louis Philippe, 1830–1848.
The Second Republic, 1848–1852.
Louis Napoleon, 1852–1870.
The Third Republic, 1870–

219. Louis XVIII's Charter; Execution of Labédoyère and Ney; Humiliation of France. — After the final fall of the emperor in June, 1815, Louis XVIII, a younger brother of Louis XVI, resumed the crown which the unexpected return of Napoleon from Elba had forced him to lay aside.[1] The king dated his accession from the death of his nephew, Louis XVII, in 1795,[2] calling 1815 the twentieth year of his reign. By this convenient fiction Napoleon was treated as a usurper not worthy of being reckoned among the sovereigns of France, and the republic and the empire were alike ignored.

The new ruler fully realized that "revolutions never go backward," and that France as he found it was not the France that existed before the days of the National Convention and the Reign of Terror. He therefore bound himself to carry out the principles of the liberal charter which he had granted on first ascending the throne.

[1] See Paragraph 215. [2] See Paragraph 194.

That charter embodied the principles of the English constitution. It established a limited monarchy and guaranteed the nation these four fundamental rights:

I. Equality before the law.
II. Personal freedom.
III. Freedom of conscience or religious liberty.
IV. Freedom of the press.

Not long after the beginning of the reign General Labédoyère[1] and Marshal Ney were tried and sentenced to death for the aid they had given Napoleon after his escape from Elba. The Duke of Wellington tried hard to save the life of the illustrious marshal, who had fought at Waterloo, and on twenty bloody fields besides; but his efforts failed. Ney was shot as a traitor to that Bourbon dynasty, which after the emperor's exile he had solemnly promised to support. It was a sorrowful case, but according to the laws of war Ney was justly condemned. A braver man never fell. To-day his remains rest in an unmarked grave in the cemetery of Père La Chaise.

Meanwhile the conquerors of Napoleon forced France to sign a treaty which humiliated her to the last degree. By it the nation was obliged to pay seven hundred million francs ($140,000,000) to the allies for the expense they had incurred in the war, besides an enormous bill of damages. Next, the country had to surrender a number of important border fortresses on the northeast. Finally, France bound herself to maintain, solely at her own expense, a frontier garrison of one hundred and fifty thousand foreign soldiers for three years.

Thus she was forced to pay for the rod with which she had been beaten, and then to tie her own hands so that she should be helpless to resist in the future.

220. **The Second White Terror; Murder of the Duke of Berry; War with Spain; Reactionary Policy; Death of the King.** — Louis XVIII was himself a moderate and well-meaning

[1] Labédoyère (lä-bgh-dwä-yêr′).

man, but he could not withstand the constant pressure of the ultra-conservative party. When they came into power, they permitted that disgraceful persecution of the Bonapartists — or adherents of Napoleon — which received the name of the White Terror.[1] No less than seven thousand Bonapartists were cast into prison, and in Marseilles and other parts of the south many were murdered, their houses pillaged, and their wives and children treated with horrible cruelty and insult.

In 1820 the Duke of Berry, nephew to Louis XVIII, was murdered by a political assassin. The only motive was the man's hatred of the Bourbon race, and his belief that the duke was most likely, through his children, to carry forward the succession of those princes. This event naturally inflamed the hostility and bitterness of parties to a much greater degree, and so kept the country in a state of feverish agitation.

Toward the close of his reign the king was forced into a war with Spain. The czar of Russia had organized a league, with the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, called the Holy Alliance, which, notwithstanding its plausibly pious name and its professed object of maintaining Christianity, was mainly intended for the suppression of democratic ideas. The Spaniards rose in revolt against the intolerably oppressive acts of their sovereign, Ferdinand VII, and compelled him to accept a constitution limiting his despotic power.

Under the pressure of the Holy Alliance, Louis was obliged to send troops to Spain to reinstate Ferdinand in his former position, and thus to maintain by force of arms the old abuses which his subjects had hoped to remedy.[2] This war was part of that policy which the Bourbon kings and their sympathizers

[1] It was really the Second White Terror. See Paragraph 192.

[2] This reactionary policy extended to America, where Spain resolved to overthrow the South American republics which had revolted against her despotic rule. The Monroe Doctrine owed its origin, in part, to the determination of the United States not to permit Spain to reconquer the colonies she had lost. See The Leading Facts of American History in this series.

undertook to carry out all over Europe after the destruction of Napoleon, and which was to give rise to new revolutions.

From this time Louis XVIII became more and more the tool of the party that was opposed to political progress. The liberty of France was constantly infringed upon, education fell into the hands of a narrow sectarian class, and even the holiday amusements of the people were suppressed. On these days the laboring man was now compelled to attend church, while on all the others he was kept busy working to pay taxes. His life therefore had but two sides: one was enforced drudgery; the other, enforced devotion.

Can it be wondered at, that henceforth the peasants and the hod carriers grew discontented? While engaged in these restrictive measures, Louis XVIII, an old, gouty, overgrown epicure, whose very title was turned into a pun on his love of eating,[1] finished his career and was gathered to his fathers (1824). He was the last French king who died in France or was buried in French soil.

221. Charles X's Arbitrary Government; Greece; Algeria; Coup d'État; Revolution. — If Louis XVIII's face had been turned partly toward the past, that of his successor,[2] Charles X, was wholly set that way. He was anointed and crowned at Reims with all the pomp and ceremony of the ancient Bourbon monarchs.

He professed to believe in the divine right of kings,[3] and even went so far as to restore the long-obsolete custom of touching for the cure of scrofula.[4] His policy was to govern France as though she was wholly destitute of reason or power to govern herself.

[1] Louis Dix-huit (Louis the Eighteenth), punningly called by the people, *Louis des huîtres* (*Oyster Louis*).

[2] Charles X: he was the youngest brother of Louis XVIII. Prior to his coming to the throne he had the title of Count of Artois.

[3] See Paragraph 148.

[4] See Paragraph 150.

He endeavored to reëstablish the monastic institutions which the Revolution had abolished, and to reinstate the Jesuits that Louis XV had expelled and the pope suppressed.[1] He did all in his power to indemnify the nobles who had fled from France, when they should have stayed and fought for her, by trying to have the state pay them for the value of their confiscated estates.[2]

Finally, in an evil hour for himself, he maddened Paris by disbanding the National Guard, which was largely made up of prudent and conservative citizens opposed alike to revolution and to tyranny. He also attacked the liberty of the press by attempting to secure the enactment of a law restricting the publication and sale of all books and newspapers except such as should be approved by a committee in sympathy with himself. Fortunately the bill failed to pass the upper house of the legislature: had it succeeded, nearly all literary production, whether good or bad, would have come to a standstill. It was a measure characteristic of the Middle Ages rather than of the nineteenth century, and it shows the policy of the man who supported it.

During the remainder of his brief reign the king "shifted about from contradiction to contradiction and from inconsistency to inconsistency." Fortunately, he was obliged to make some concessions to the liberal party, and to remove the Jesuits from the control of the schools and colleges. Abroad, however, France gained a glory she could not boast at home. In alliance with England and other powers she assisted Greece to throw off the barbarous rule of the Turks; and by a war with the dey of Algiers (1830), that city was captured, and a large and flourishing French colony was established in northern Africa. To-day Algeria is considered the most valuable dependency possessed by the nation.[3]

[1] See Paragraph 167. [2] See Paragraph 181.

[3] The area of the organized part of Algeria is a little less than 123,000 square miles, or considerably more than half that of France. The population is about

The king's policy at home irritated the liberal party in the highest degree. At the elections of 1830 they gained a complete victory. Charles, far from heeding the warning, now determined on a *coup d'état*.[1] On the morning of July 26 he issued five ordinances. The first suspended freedom of the press. The second dissolved the new liberal legislature. The third took away the ballot from all but property holders. The fourth summoned a new legislature elected under this restrictive law. The fifth nominated a Council of State, composed of those who sympathized wholly with the king.

The result of these arbitrary measures was a revolution, which in three days (July 27, 28, and 29)[2] made Charles realize that he was no longer wanted by the majority of the people, and that not even the army would fight for him. He accordingly abdicated,[3] went to England, and thence to Austria, where he died in 1836.

222. Louis Philippe and Lafayette; the King's Liberal Policy; Political Parties. — In the Revolution of 1830 the venerable Lafayette, then past three-score years and ten, was made chief of the revived National Guard. For a short time he held absolute power, and might perhaps have secured the abolition of monarchy had he so chosen. But he acquiesced in the desire of Guizot, Thiers,[4] and other leading men who favored Louis Philippe, Duke of Orléans, as successor

4,000,000. The Algerian Sahara, to be added to the above, is estimated to have an area of 135,000 square miles, with a population of about 50,000. The colony carries on a very large and lucrative commerce, most of which is with France.

[1] *Coup d'état* (koo dȧ-tȧ′) : a violent, unexpected, and unconstitutional act by a king or governing power.

[2] The Column of July, in the Place de la Bastile, commemorates those who fell in the Revolution of 1830.

[3] Charles abdicated in favor of his grandson, Henry, Duke of Bordeaux (later known as Henry, Count of Chambord). He died in 1883. He was the last representative of the older Bourbons and of the Ultra-Royalist or Legitimist party. The Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, is considered to be his political successor.

[4] Thiers (te-êr′).

to Charles X. The duke was accordingly invited to act as lieutenant general of the kingdom as a preparatory step to his receiving the crown.

General Lafayette called on him to pay his respects. "You know," said he to the duke, "that I am a Republican, and consider the constitution of the United States as the most perfect that ever existed." "So do I," replied the duke; "but do you think that in the present condition of France it would be advisable for us to adopt it?" "No," answered Lafayette; "what the French people need now is a popular throne surrounded by institutions that are wholly republican." "That," rejoined the duke, "is just my opinion."

Not long after this conversation Louis was offered the crown. He accepted it, and took the title of "Louis Philippe, King of the French," as Napoleon had called himself "Emperor of the French."[1] He was a liberal Bourbon, a member of the Bourbon-Orléans family, and the very opposite of Charles X. He was popularly known as "the citizen king." The new sovereign affected little state or ceremony, discarded royal robes, and announced his intention of standing by the revised charter,[2] and of favoring true political liberty.

Four parties divided France: (1) the Legitimists, who wished to restore the hereditary Bourbon line[3] and carry out the old narrow Bourbon policy as nearly as possible as it existed before the great Revolution; (2) the Constitutionalists, who supported the reigning king, and believed in a monarchy limited by a written charter or constitution similar to that of England; (3) the Bonapartists, who wished to place a member of that family on the throne; (4) the Republicans, who declared that kings had had their day, and what France wanted was "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," after the

[1] See Paragraph 204.

[2] The charter given by Louis XVIII, revised so as to make it still more liberal. See Paragraph 219.

[3] See Genealogical Table, Appendix, page xi.

example set by America. Of the four parties the last was the most determined, and in many ways the most formidable.

223. Riots; Labor Troubles; Effects of the Revolution of 1830; Belgium; the Cholera. — Shortly after Louis Philippe's accession the Legitimists held a commemorative service over the remains of the murdered Duke of Berry.[1] The Republicans and the Paris rabble attacked the church where the services were conducted, threw the priests' vestments, the crucifix, and communion plate into the Seine, and sacked the archbishop's residence. This and several subsequent riots were quelled with fire engines, — a kind of cold-water artillery, quite as effectual as grapeshot, and which had the advantage of breaking no bones, shedding no blood, and making no martyrs.

The next year (1831) there were strikes and labor insurrections at Lyons and elsewhere, followed by an attempt of the Legitimists to overturn the government and put their candidate, the son of the widowed Duchess of Berry, on the throne.

Meanwhile the Revolution of 1830, which had driven Charles X from France, was making its influence felt in Europe. In England that great movement set in toward reforming and extending the right of suffrage, which resulted in the passage of the memorable Reform Bill of 1832.[2]

In Brussels a revolt broke out against the Dutch king of the Netherlands, who had been put in power by that Congress of Vienna that hated political progress and popular rights. The revolt was successful, and in July, 1831, Belgium obtained its independence and chose its own sovereign, who took the title of King of the Belgians.

The change was an advantage to both Holland and Belgium. The people of the two countries differed in blood, in language, and in religion, — one being Dutch, the other French; one

[1] See Paragraph 220.

[2] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

Protestant, the other Catholic; now that each was left free to govern itself in its own way, prosperity ensued for both.

The year after was marked by the outbreak in March of a frightful, malignant epidemic of a new kind, soon to become familiar under the name of Asiatic cholera. In six months it carried off nearly twenty thousand victims in Paris alone; and the fatal disease did not cease until it had gone round the globe and returned to its original home in the East.

Three days after the scourge appeared, a masked ball was given in Paris. Among the dancers several personated the cholera. Suddenly at midnight one dancer after another fell shrieking to the floor. The ball was broken up. Fifty victims were carried to the hospital, many of whom a few hours later were buried in their masquerade dress.

224. Attempts to assassinate the King; Louis Napoleon's Conspiracy. — In 1835 several attempts were made to murder the king, and from that time he continued to have his life threatened by desperate men. One evil effect of these violent efforts to change the government, not by law, but by the bullet and the dagger, was the enactment of a number of severe statutes respecting the press. These were intended to put a stop to the publication of articles inciting insurrection and assassination, but at times they were used by those in power to check the legitimate utterance of the daily journals, and so increased the ill-feeling.

Prince Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I., crossed the frontier from Switzerland in 1836, and entering Strasburg tried to rouse that city to rebellion in his favor. The undertaking had no results, except that the prince was promptly arrested and sent out of the country to New York. A few years later he had the audacity to make a second attempt. This time he came from England and landed at Boulogne.

He had with him a tame eagle which was probably intended to remind the French, in a theatrical kind of way, of the

imperial eagles which figured on the arms of the first Napoleon. But the conspiracy proved as tame and harmless as the pet bird of its originator. Nobody was seriously hurt, still less killed, and the would-be emperor was sent to the castle of Ham [1] to meditate on his misadventure. His sentence was for life; but after six years' confinement he managed to escape to England, to make a third and successful attempt, in a different way, at a later period.

225. Science; the Photograph; Literature. — But the political history of any period, however important, is at best but half the history of a people's life. If society owes much to its statesmen, it owes no less, perhaps, to its inventors, its scientists, — such as Pasteur, — and to its great writers. The French, it is true, have never been prominent in the field of practical science and the inventive arts. The triumphs of steam, electricity, and labor-saving machines belong to the Anglo-Saxon race.

The French list of noted inventions in the last two centuries is a short one: it includes Montgolfier's [2] balloon, which has never yet proved of any practical worth; the celebrated Jacquard [3] loom for weaving all kinds of figured stuffs; an improved form of water wheel for driving machinery; [4] the Minié [5] rifle; and last, but greatest of all, the wonderful and world-wide-known invention or discovery of Daguerre.[6]

It had been known for centuries that if a room be made wholly dark with the exception of a small aperture left to

[1] Ham (ŏN): a fortress and prison in the department of the Somme, in the northwest of France.

[2] Montgolfier (mŏN-gol-fe-ā′): 1783. [3] Jacquard (zhä-kar′): 1801.

[4] A turbine wheel, invented by Fourneyron in 1836.

[5] Minié (me-ne-ā′): commonly pronounced mĭn′e. Colonel Minié invented his rifle about 1850.

[6] Daguerre (dä-gĕr′): 1789–1851. He began life in Paris as a scene painter. There, in connection with a friend, he invented the diorama. Later he commenced a series of experiments in photography with the help of Niepce (ne ĕps′), a French chemist, who made important discoveries in the art; Daguerre, however, was the first to turn them to practical account. The first pictures were taken on plates of highly polished metal, and received the name of daguerreotypes, which was soon superseded by that of photographs.

admit a ray of sunlight, that the result will be a dim sun picture of outside objects represented on the wall. The same thing would of course result if a box were used instead of a room, and it was found that by placing a convex lens in the aperture the brilliancy of the picture on the side or bottom of the box was greatly increased. Such a box, called a camera, was a well-known toy, though occasionally it had been utilized by draughtsmen, who copied the outlines of the picture in pencil.

The question was, could these pictures be in any way made permanent? That was the problem the French scene painter, Daguerre, set himself to solve. As early as 1825 a lady went to the distinguished chemist, Dumas,[1] to ask his opinion on the matter. She had a deep interest in his answer, for the French artist, like Palissy, the discoverer of porcelain,[2] was spending all his time and money in experiments which brought in nothing but vexatious disappointment. The lady said to Dumas: "I am the wife of Daguerre, the painter. He is possessed with the belief that he can find a method of fixing the sun pictures of the camera on metal or paper. Do you, sir, as a man of science, believe it can be done, or is my husband insane?" Dumas replied: "In the present state of our knowledge we are unable to do what your husband is attempting; but I cannot say that it will always be so, still less can I say that I think him mad because he seeks to accomplish it."

Fourteen years passed away, fourteen years of renewed effort and of renewed disappointment. Then, in 1839, Arago, the distinguished French astronomer, announced in the Paris Academy of Sciences that Daguerre had triumphed — in his hand he held up to his delighted audience the first perfect photograph. Since then photography, like printing, has encircled the globe. Like printing, too, it disseminates knowledge,

[1] Dumas (dü-mä′).

[2] Palissy, the potter: a celebrated French potter of the sixteenth century. He succeeded, after years of experiments, in discovering the secret of making porcelain.

reproducing not what men think, but what they see. The scientific and practical uses of this art are constantly extending, and Arago did no more than justice to Daguerre's invention when he declared that it would finally take its place with the greatest of those of the present century.

In literature and art France, during this and the preceding periods since the coming in of the century, was prolific in works of a high order of merit. We have the poets, Chénier [1] and Béranger [2]; the novelists, Madame de Staël,[3] Balzac, George Sand, and, last and greatest, Victor Hugo. In philosophy and science we find Cousin,[4] Comte,[5] Laplace,[6] Arago, and Cuvier [7]; with the essayists and historians, Chateaubriand,[8] Lamartine, Sismondi, Guizot,[9] Michelet,[10] Martin,[11] De Tocqueville,[12] and Sainte-Beuve [13]; lastly, the artists, Vernet,[14] Houdon, and Delaroche.[15]

226. The Spanish Marriages; Political Banquets; Revolution of 1848. — In 1846 the queen of Spain married her cousin, and on the same day the king's youngest son married the queen's sister. This last alliance united the Spanish and French Bourbons. The English were strongly opposed to the union, since they feared that it might lead eventually to an extension of Louis Philippe's power to Spain. The liberal party in France were likewise alarmed, and the excitement was increased by the belief that the king had some deep design in bringing about the marriage of his son, which the English declared was done in violation of a solemn agreement that Louis Philippe was to defer the nuptials until the queen of Spain should become mother to an heir to the crown.

1 Chénier (shā-ne-ā′).
2 Béranger (bā-rŏn-zhā′).
3 De Staël (dẹh stä′ĕl).
4 Cousin (koo-zăn′).
5 Comte (kŏnt′).
6 Laplace (lä-plăss′).
7 Cuvier (kü-ve-ā′).
8 Chateaubriand (shä-tō-bre-ŏn′).
9 Guizot (gē-zo′ or gwe-zo′).
10 Michelet (mē-sh'lā′).
11 Martin (mär-tăn′).
12 De Tocqueville (dẹh tok-vĕl′).
13 Sainte-Beuve (sănt-buv′).
14 Vernet (vĕr-nā′).
15 Delaroche (d'lä-rosh′).

The crisis of disaffection was reached in 1848. The great mass of the people were still without the ballot and had no direct voice in making the laws they were commanded to obey. Great reforms had taken place in this respect in England, and the French workingman now asked for the same rights that his fellow-toilers enjoyed on the other side of the Channel.

Banquets were held at which fiery speeches were made, demanding new concessions of political power to the people. The government determined to suppress these expressions of feeling. The attempt was made, and resulted in the Revolution of February, 1848. The king, believing it useless to resist the mob, abdicated and fled to England — that favorite refuge for monarchs retired from business. Hordes of drunken ruffians then sacked the palace of the Tuileries and threatened to reduce Paris to chaos.

The French Revolution excited the Chartists or Radical party in England to demand new political reforms,[1] which, though refused at the time, were conceded in great measure at a later date. Similar movements began in nearly every capital of Europe; so true is it that what is done in France is almost sure to be repeated or attempted elsewhere.

227. The Provisional Government; Republicans versus Communists; National Workshops. — A provisional government was now established, of which Lamartine was the real head. The inscription "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" — words which mean much or little, according to their interpretation and application — was then ostentatiously painted in large letters on all public buildings, and also, as a means of conciliating the mob, on many private ones.

There were two leading parties in Paris: the moderate Republicans under Lamartine; and the Communists, who demanded an equal division of property, who wanted the state

[1] See The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

to provide work, and whose symbol was the Red Flag, meaning "Bread or Blood."

Barricades still existed in the streets, and the Socialists or Communists threatened to overthrow the Republicans as the Republicans had overthrown the monarchy. Lamartine resolved to try to pacify the mob by appealing to reason. "What do you want?" he asked. "Your head," shouted one of the crowd. "I only wish you had it on your shoulders," retorted the statesman; "then you would show more sense." Shouts and laughter greeted this sally, and the rabble grew good-natured.

But the Communists were determined that the state should do that impossible thing — find or make employment for all who demanded it. Through their influence National Workshops were established. These shops soon had about forty thousand persons on the government pay roll, at wages which began with five francs ($1.00) a day, but before long diminished to six francs ($1.20) a week. The shops turned out a disastrous failure. They not only ran the state in debt some fifteen million of francs ($3,000,000) in a few months, but, what was worse, they seriously disturbed regular business, and weakened that individual power of self-help which is worth infinitely more to every man than any amount of government assistance.

The result was that the great body of citizens became disgusted with the very name of National Workshops, and called for their abolition. An order was accordingly issued requiring a certain proportion of the workmen to enlist in the army or else provide for themselves. This order gave rise to a new and desperate insurrection on the part of the Communists. Paris became a battlefield: thousands of lives were lost, and at one time it seemed as though the city would be transformed into a veritable Red Republic.

228. **The Second Republic; Louis Napoleon; Italy; the Coup d'État; Napoleon III.** — Finally the republican forces

triumphed over anarchy, and in December, 1848, Louis Napoleon was elected president of the second French Republic for four years by universal suffrage. He declared, "My name is a symbol of order, nationality, and glory"; the country people believed in him as they had believed in the first Napoleon; to this fact he mainly owed his success in getting the position he coveted.

But the Legislative Assembly had learned to distrust the principle of universal suffrage, and now endeavored to limit it. The ground for this action was, first the belief that most of the peasantry were too ignorant to be trusted with the ballot; and secondly, that if they continued to hold it, designing men would secure their votes to keep themselves permanently in power. Though Napoleon used his influence to prevent it, the assembly ultimately carried a bill restricting suffrage.

Meanwhile Italy, feeling the effects of the recent French Revolution, had risen and endeavored to throw off the Austrian yoke. An insurrection in Rome caused the flight of the pope, and under the influence of Garibaldi and Mazzini[1] a republic was proclaimed. Louis Napoleon, it is said, had pledged himself years before to favor Italian liberty; now, however, he sent troops to crush the Roman republic and reinstate the pope. This action secured him the ardent support of the Church.

At home a struggle of a different kind was going on. According to the terms of the newly adopted constitution, the president of the French Republic could not become a candidate for reëlection until four years after his term of office had expired. Louis Napoleon's term would end in 1852. If the law was carried out, he could not run again until 1856. That was too long for him to wait, and he resolved to try what a *coup d'état*[2] would do in his favor. He made his preparations

[1] Mazzini (mät-see'nee). [2] See Paragraph 221.

carefully and quietly, by putting his friends in the most important offices, by creating new generals favorable to his designs, and by gaining the good will of the army.

When all was ready, the *coup d'état* took place. At midnight of December 1, 1851, the chief opposition members of the Legislative Assembly were arrested and hurried from their beds to prison cells. Paris was filled with troops who held the city completely in their power. The next morning the citizens woke up to find themselves helpless to resist, and to read the following proclamation which was posted throughout the metropolis:

(1) The Legislative Assembly is dissolved; (2) universal suffrage is restored; (3) under the provision of universal suffrage a new general election is called for December 14; (4) Paris and suburbs are declared in a state of siege and subject to military law; (5) the Council of State is dissolved.

Some attempts at revolt were made in which several hundred lives were lost, but nothing was gained. Louis Napoleon sent many of the imprisoned legislators into exile,[1] or transported them, with others who resisted his power, to the pestilential marshes of the penal colony of Cayenne.[2]

Then he promulgated a new constitution which, among other changes, made the presidential term of office ten years instead of four, and which greatly increased the president's power. This condition was accepted by the country by a very large vote in its favor.

Napoleon was now sure of his position. There was but one step more for him to take to secure all that he desired. In less than a year he had taken it and reached the summit of his ambition. On November 21, 1852, by an almost unanimous vote, France made him emperor. On December 1 he

[1] Among those thus banished was the distinguished author, Victor Hugo. He retired to the island of Guernsey. The next year he published his satirical historical work, entitled Napoléon le Petit (Napoleon the Little).

[2] Cayenne: in French Guiana, South America.

took the title of Napoleon III. The next year he married the Countess Eugénie,[1] a Spanish lady of great beauty.

229. Public Improvements; the Crimean War; the War in Italy; Mexico. — It is reported that the first Napoleon, when told that the people of Paris were discontented, said, "Well, gild the dome of Les Invalides," — one of the principal public buildings, — "this will give them something to look at." Acting, perhaps, on the same principle, the new emperor began his improvements in the city.

Where there had been mazes of narrow, crooked, and filthy streets he laid out magnificent boulevards, straight as an arrow — a clear field for grapeshot if needful — and paved with asphalt, which no mob could dig up for barricades. At the same time he built a system of sewers superior to that of any capital in Europe or America. Thus both above ground and under ground the metropolis was benefited.

But the debt thereby created was enormous; taxes increased proportionately, and rents rose with them. For a time, however, all went prosperously. Thousands of workmen were employed at good wages, speculators and contractors made fortunes, and every one agreed that under the emperor's hand the most beautiful city in the world had now become more beautiful than ever.

In 1854 Napoleon formed an alliance with England against Russia, and engaged in that Crimean War which was undertaken to repel the advances of Russia in Turkey. The allies attacked the fortress and city of Sevastopol, on the Black Sea, and after nearly a year's siege succeeded in taking them. Peace was then made, and Turkey was accordingly secured, for the time, against Russian interference for either good or ill.

Five years later the emperor began a war against Austria, ostensibly in behalf of Italy. He declared that that country should be rescued from her cruel oppression. The Italians

[1] Eugénie de Montijo, Countess of Teba.

under Victor Emmanuel were endeavoring to establish their independence as a nation. The great body of the French people strongly sympathized with their efforts, and the war undertaken to assist them was highly popular.

"Italy," said Napoleon, "shall be free from the Alps to the Adriatic." Louis Napoleon, however, was not fighting merely for sentiment. He had made an agreement with Victor Emmanuel, by virtue of which the latter was to give him Savoy and Nice to annex to France as a recompense for his help. The French and Sardinians were successful in the campaign, and gained the victories of Montebello, Magenta, and Solferino. Had they pushed on, the whole of Italy might soon perhaps have been united under its chosen king.

Suddenly, without apparent reason, to the astonishment of all Europe, Napoleon met Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, at Villa Franca,[1] and concluded a peace whereby the Italians felt themselves sacrificed to Austria and the pope, though Lombardy was added to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon came out of the war with some military glory and with the two additions (Savoy and Nice) which he had coveted for France. The mystery of the Treaty of Villa Franca has since been explained; and it is now known that the threatened interference of Prussia and other German states in behalf of Austria forced the French emperor to make peace.

During the Civil War in the United States the French emperor was secretly hostile to the Union party, and took advantage of our position to endeavor to establish a Mexican empire under the rule of Maximilian of Austria. Undoubtedly any stable government would have been an advantage to that distracted country, but it was probably ambition, not love of Mexico, which animated the whole scheme.

The project, however, failed. The United States refused to recognize Maximilian, and demanded that Napoleon should

[1] Villa Franca: near Verona, Italy. See J. R. Lowell's poem, "Villa Franca."

withdraw his troops. He accordingly ordered their departure. Then Maximilian's wife, the Empress Carlotta, sought an interview with the French sovereign, and in tears and on her knees begged him to keep his promise and support her husband with his troops two years longer, according to the terms of a secret treaty. The emperor refused, — he probably could not have done differently, — and the unfortunate woman soon after went mad. A year later (1867) Maximilian was shot, and thus ended Napoleon's much-boasted "Latin Empire in the West."

230. The Suez Canal; the Franco-Prussian War. — But if the emperor failed in one quarter of the globe, one of his subjects brilliantly succeeded in another. Lesseps,[1] a French diplomatist and civil engineer, accomplished one of the greatest engineering triumphs ever undertaken. After ten years' labor and the expenditure by a stock company of three hundred million francs ($60,000,000) he completed (1869) the Suez ship canal, by which the waters of the Mediterranean and the Red seas are united.

The work had been pronounced impossible by many good judges, and even the most eminent English engineers were skeptical of its accomplishment; but in this case French capital and energy converted them. The canal has not only been a financial success, but has had a most important influence on European trade. Ships which formerly had to go round the Cape of Good Hope to reach India and China now save many thousands of miles by this short cut to the East, and tea, coffee, spices, and other products of oriental countries have been rendered not only more accessible, but vastly cheaper than before.

There had long been an ill-feeling smoldering between France and Germany, growing originally out of the old Napoleonic wars, but recently from an effort of Louis Napoleon to acquire

[1] Lesseps (lā-sĕp′).

by purchase the duchy of Luxembourg[1] which Germany declared should never become part of France. This dispute came near bringing on a war between the two countries in 1866; but the conflict was postponed until 1870. That year the throne of Spain having become vacant, it was offered to Prince Leopold, an officer in the Prussian army and a relative of the Prussian king. He asked and received the king's permission to accept it; but finding that France was strongly opposed, withdrew his name in order not to excite hostilities. Not satisfied with this, Napoleon demanded that the king of Prussia should bind himself by an autograph letter never to support Prince Leopold as a candidate for the Spanish crown. Count Bismarck, the Prussian prime minister, declined to lay this demand before that monarch.

Not long after, the French ambassador chanced to meet the king in a public walk at Ems, and imperiously requested him to give the desired pledge. King William indignantly refused to consider the matter at such a time or in such a place, and later notified the French ambassador that he would not be admitted to an audience at the royal palace.

Napoleon considered, or affected to consider, this action of Prussia as an insult, and declared war (July 19, 1870). France was utterly unprepared to begin the contest; but such was the ignorance of the people respecting the real condition of the army, and such the infatuation of the war party, that all Paris echoed with mad cries of "On to Berlin!"

The emperor, at the head of a poorly equipped body of troops, marched northward and took up his headquarters at Metz, whence he purposed crossing the Rhine into Germany.

But instead of waiting to be thus invaded, Germany pushed her troops forward, and they, with faces set toward Paris, invaded France. The consternation and indignation at the

[1] The king of Holland, who was also Grand Duke of Luxembourg (a duchy northeast of France), thought it for his interest to sell the duchy to Napoleon.

capital were so great when it was learned that the Prussians were actually on French soil, that it was said that had the emperor returned then, he would have been torn to pieces before he reached the Tuileries.

After several engagements, the French marshal, MacMahon, fell back toward Châlons[1] with his army of one hundred and sixty thousand men, while his coadjutor, Marshal Bazaine, after a desperate struggle, was driven within the fortifications of Metz. The German forces at once laid siege to that place, and Bazaine found himself with the main part of the French army shut up where he was powerless to help either France or himself. Marshal MacMahon was now ordered by Napoleon to march to the relief of Bazaine; but he was so strongly pressed by the Germans that he could accomplish nothing. Eventually he reached the neighborhood of Sedan.[2] There, on September 1, a great battle was fought, which resulted in the decisive defeat of the French. The evening following, the emperor sent this letter to the king of Prussia:

Not being able to die at the head of my troops, I can only resign my sword into the hands of Your Majesty.

Thus ended the rule of Napoleon III; he, with MacMahon and eighty thousand prisoners of war, fell into the hands of the enemy.[3] Three days later (September 4, 1870) Gambetta rose in the legislature and declared the emperor deposed and France a republic.

Bazaine held out in Metz until October 27, when he, with six thousand officers and upwards of one hundred and seventy thousand men, laid down their arms. Bazaine was afterward tried and sentenced to degradation and death for not having

[1] Châlons (shä-lōn′).

[2] Sedan: in the northeast of France, department of Ardennes.

[3] After Napoleon's release he went to England, where he died in 1873. His son, Prince Napoleon, was killed in the Zulu War in 1879. The Empress Eugénie still resides in England.

done his duty by France. The sentence, however, was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment, from which he effected his escape in 1874.

231. The Third Republic; the First Siege of Paris; the Treaty. — A provisional government for defense was organized, with Thiers and Gambetta as its chief men. An attempt was then made to put Paris into condition to hold out against the German army, which was soon to lay siege to it.

During the siege, which lasted nearly four and a half months (September 19, 1870, to January 30, 1871), food became so scarce that the inhabitants were forced to eat horses, dogs, cats, rats, and finally even the wild beasts of the Zoölogical Garden. The distress during the cold weather was terrible. People retreated to their cellars to keep warm, and also to escape the Prussian shells. Thousands of beautiful trees in the parks and boulevards were cut down for fuel, and the proud city was thus stripped of one of her chief ornaments.

Meanwhile the king of Prussia had established his headquarters at Versailles, in that magnificent palace[1] which Louis XVI was forced to leave at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789. In the great "Hall of Mirrors" of that royal edifice, on January 18, 1871, the Prussian monarch was proclaimed Emperor of Germany, and France was obliged to submit to the humiliation of knowing that her victorious enemy had made the grandest of her historic palaces commemorate his assumption of supreme power.

All attempts on the part of the French army of Paris to raise the siege proved fruitless. Finally, as it was evident that the city could not continue to hold out, a preliminary treaty of peace was made on February 26 (1871). By the terms of that treaty the provisional government acting for France agreed to give up all of German-speaking Lorraine, — about half of the province, — together with the important fortress

[1] See Paragraphs 149, 180.

of Metz, and the whole of Alsace. Furthermore, France bound herself to pay war damages to the amount of five billion of francs ($1,000,000,000), and in addition a part of the German army was to hold possession of French soil until the debt was discharged.

On the 1st of March a body of the emperor's troops entered Paris under that grand triumphal arch which the first Napoleon erected to commemorate the glory of his victorious battles.[1]

The next year, on an appointed day (September 30, 1872), the inhabitants of Alsace were compelled to choose between becoming German citizens or leaving the province. Nearly fifty thousand decided to pass over into France. It was a melancholy procession; those crowds of men, women, and children, forced to abandon their homes, their fields, the graves of their fathers, or else "lose the name of Frenchmen, and renounce their country and their flag."

To most of them it meant loss of nearly all that they possessed, and the suffering which resulted was so great that subscriptions were taken up in their behalf all over Europe, and in Mexico and the United States, New York alone sending forty thousand francs.

In the great square of the Place de la Concorde in Paris stand eight statues representing the chief provincial cities of France. On national holidays the statues, with one exception, are gayly decorated with the tricolor; the exception is Strasburg, which stands for the lost province of Alsace: that marble figure is always draped in mourning.

232. The Commune; the Second Siege of Paris. — After the evacuation of Versailles by the Germans the provisional government under Thiers established itself there. Now was to begin the second siege of Paris; Frenchmen fighting against Frenchmen for the possession of the city. The Paris Commune, a revolutionary organization, united with the National

[1] The Arc de Triomphe, see Paragraph 199.

Guard. They believed that Thiers and his associates had betrayed their country in making peace with Germany. They closed the gates of Paris, and from that time for more than two months (March 18 to May 21, 1871) an armed force of two hundred thousand men had complete control of the metropolis, which they wished to make practically independent of the provisional government and of the rest of France.

Probably a majority of these men were socialists of the extreme type, believing in the abolition of private property in land and the possession of private capital. Many of them were simply anarchists and destructionists, of the same class which we have lately seen in this country. The Commune closed the churches, dispersed the nuns and sisters of charity from their houses, and pulled down the Vendôme Column commemorating the wars of Napoleon I.

From time to time they made sallies on Versailles. In one of these a number of their leaders were captured by the forces under Thiers. In reprisal, the Commune seized the venerable Archbishop Darboy, a man whose life had been spent in deeds of charity among the poor, also the President of the Court of Cassation, — "the highest judicial dignitary in France," — and sixty-four priests, besides a number of other citizens. These they held as hostages; later they deliberately massacred them.

On the 21st of May (1871) the government forces under Marshal MacMahon succeeded in entering Paris. When the Commune found that they must succumb, they resolved to destroy the city. Barrels of gunpowder were placed in the cathedral of Notre Dame and other churches. Bands of men and women, carrying cans of petroleum to feed the flames, set fire to the palace of the Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, the Palais Royal, the Courts of Justice, and many other public buildings. MacMahon's troops by great efforts extinguished the conflagration; but the two edifices first mentioned, with many others of less note, were reduced to piles of blackened ruins.

The insurgents were gradually driven back by the troops. They made their last stand in the cemetery of Père La Chaise and vicinity. There hundreds of men, women, and children were mowed down with bullets and grapeshot, and their mutilated bodies fell dead and dying among the shattered tombs. Thus for the time ended the Commune.

It had destroyed property to the amount of five hundred million francs ($100,000,000). The number of killed was estimated at twenty thousand. But though beaten with such terrible loss, it is still the boast of one of its leaders[1] that the dispersed ashes of the dead Communists will "sow the fields of revolution whose final triumph is certain."

233. Completion of the Organization of the Third Republic; General Boulanger. — When order was finally restored, the organization of the Third Republic was completed by the election of Thiers to the presidency[2] (August 31, 1871). The term of office, originally four, was later changed to seven years. Of the first seven Presidents — Thiers, MacMahon,

[1] P. Vésinier, secretary of the Commune de Paris.

[2] The present constitution of France was framed by the National Assembly in 1875 and revised in 1879, 1884, 1885, and 1889. It vests the legislative power in two houses, — the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The President of the Republic is elected by the Deputies and Senators. He holds his office for seven years. The Deputies, or Representatives, are elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years. Seventy-five of the Senators were originally chosen for life, but now all new Senators are chosen for nine years. The assembly meets annually in January. The President's salary is 1,200,000 francs ($240,000). Senators and Deputies now receive 15,000 francs ($3000).

Bills may originate with either house, but all financial measures must pass the Chamber of Deputies first. The President may declare war, but only with the previous assent of the two houses.

The area of France is 207,054 square miles. The population according to the census of 1911 was 39,601,509, or a little over 189 to the square mile. In the last ten years France shows no appreciable gain in population. Of the population, over 30,000,000 are Catholics, 700,000 Protestants, 54,000 Jews, and 7,000,000 of no declared religion. All religions are placed on a legal equality; formerly those having 100,000 or more adherents were entitled to government aid, but since the repeal of the Concordat in 1905 (see page 324) all denominations are compelled to support themselves.

France has an excellent system of public schools, ranging from compulsory primary to high and collegiate, besides many technical, industrial, and other

Grévy[1] (elected twice), Carnot,[2] Casimir-Périer,[3] and Faure,[4] only the third completed a full term of office. But the successors of President Faure have been more fortunate, and the last fourteen years have proved uneventful in this respect.

Under the administration of Carnot the famous Boulanger[5] plot threatened to destroy the French commonwealth. General Boulanger had been minister of war (1886), but was forced to resign. Later he gained notoriety by his bold attacks on the government, his demands for a dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and for a revision of the constitution.

In 1889 he was elected deputy by an immense majority. The radical Republicans who favored socialism,[6] and who hoped to gain something by upsetting the government, joined hands with the Royalists in pledging him their enthusiastic support; some Royalists went further and contributed large sums of money for the use of their chosen representative.

Boulanger had a fine military bearing which made him popular with the masses; and for a time the Paris music halls rang with songs[7] in praise of the "man on horseback" who boasted that he would "unseat Carnot" and reconstruct France. Many regarded this political adventurer as the true hero of the hour; they believed that he was sure of success, that he

special schools. All of these are supported either wholly, as in the case of the primary schools, or partially by the government.

France has the largest national debt of any country in the world. It amounts to $6,286,435,000.

The standing army consists of over 700,000 men. The navy is, with the exception of that of Great Britain, the largest in the world.

[1] Grévy (grā-vy′). [2] Carnot (kar-no′).

[3] Casimir-Périer (kä-ze-mēr′-pā-re-ā̆r′).

[4] Faure (fōre): President Faure died early in 1899, probably as the result of the strain imposed upon him by the Dreyfus case. He was succeeded by Émile Loubet (lo͞o-bā̆′), Armand Fallières (fäl-yar′), and Raymond Poincaré (pwăN-cä-rā′).

[5] Boulanger (boo-lŏN-zhā̆′).

[6] Socialism: that is, the state ownership of land, railways, canals, telegraphs, and all leading industries, also state provision of labor for those who apply for it.

[7] C'est Boulanger, lange, lange,
C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut.

would make himself dictator, restore the monarchy, and place the Count of Paris [1] on the throne.

The government became alarmed, accused Boulanger of conspiring to overthrow the Republic, and ordered his immediate arrest. The general fled by express train to Brussels, and thence to England. While he was a fugitive in London, the court in Paris proceeded to try him. He was found guilty, and, although he could not be reached, was sentenced to imprisonment for life.

Two years later (1891) he shot himself on the grave of a friend, and not long afterward the Count of Paris died, like the general, on English soil. Before these two actors in the revolutionary drama passed off the stage, France had recovered from its fright, the scheme for restoring the monarchy had apparently received its deathblow, and the Republic suffered no detriment.

234. Anarchist Murders; Assassination of President Carnot; the Panama Canal Scandal. — While these events were occurring, an epidemic of anarchist [2] violence and crime swept over

[1] The Count of Paris was grandson of Louis Philippe. "King of the French," 1830–1848 (see Appendix, Genealogical Table No. VIII). He was a claimant to the French crown, but was driven into exile by the Revolution of 1848 (see Paragraph 226). In 1861 he came to the United States and served a campaign under McClellan in the Civil War. Later he wrote an able history of that great struggle. In 1886 he, with other claimants to the throne, was driven from France by the Expulsion Act (see Paragraph 238). He formed a compact with General Boulanger with the object, as many now believe, of pushing forward a revolution which should in the end secure him the throne vacated by Louis Philippe. He died in London in 1894.

[2] Anarchists: originally the French anarchists were agitators following Proudhon's teachings. He declared that political and social order could and should be maintained without the existence of any supreme ruler or direct government.

The extreme members of the anarchists have no faith in peaceful reform. They believe that the only way to regenerate society is to overthrow all systems of government. They openly advocate the use of fire, dynamite, and assassination to accomplish their ends. They count — or profess to count — imprisonment and death "but as rewards." It is noticeable, however, that in France the guillotine has diminished their ardor, and in many cases they now appear to be willing to accept the protection and help of the very power which they profess to wish to destroy.

France (1893). One miscreant threw a dynamite bomb from the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies, which exploded and wounded many members. Other bomb throwers wrecked restaurants crowded with people, killing or mutilating a great number of persons whose only offense was that they upheld law and order.

These insane attacks on society and government culminated in the summer of 1894, when an Italian anarchist fatally stabbed President Carnot as he was driving through the streets of Lyons.

Many feared that this sudden taking-off of the President would cause a revolution, but France had learned self-restraint and no outbreak followed. Casimir-Périer quietly succeeded (1894) to the office left vacant by the death of Carnot. He resigned the next year, and Félix Faure was elected (1895) to fill his place; he died in office (1899) and was succeeded by Émile Loubet, who was followed in 1906 by Armand Fallières, succeeded by Raymond Poincaré in 1913 (see page 316, note 4).

The Boulanger plot and the assassination of the president put the stability of the French Republic to a severe test. Meanwhile it was tried by the strain of a financial crisis.

The brilliant success of Lesseps in the construction of the Suez Canal has already been narrated.[1] His great work was destined to have a melancholy sequel. Late in life, when he should have retired from active effort, he organized a company to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panama.

Unfortunately, Lesseps underrated the difficulties of the undertaking; still worse, he allowed the financial management of the enterprise to fall into the hands of unscrupulous men or of those who had not strength to resist unscrupulous demands. Everything went wrong, and in the course of a few years (1881–1889) no less than thirteen hundred million francs or two hundred and sixty million dollars of the stockholders' money was hopelessly sunk. At least a third of this enormous sum was spent in France in bribing newspaper

[1] See Paragraph 230.

editors, buying up the political influence of legislators and cabinet ministers, and in filling the pockets of financiers and speculators.

The company, not being able to stand this drain upon its capital, was driven into bankruptcy, and thousands of humble shareholders were ruined.

The government took the matter up, prosecuted the guilty parties, and sentenced them to prison. Lesseps himself, though innocent of any wrong intent, was included, with his son, in the sentence; but in his case it was never carried out. The old man, verging on ninety, was lying paralyzed at his country seat near Paris. Broken in body and mind, he died the year following (1894). The great work of uniting the two oceans was resumed later; but in 1902 the French company, fearing that the United States would undertake to construct a rival canal, offered to sell the Panama cutting to us for forty million dollars, and Congress appropriated that sum for its purchase.

In her financial honor as in her political strength France has, on the whole, gained reputation instead of losing it, and to-day the Republic stands, to all appearance, stronger than ever.

235. **The Anti-Semitic Feeling in France; the Dreyfus Case; the Press; Militarism.** — Late in the nineteenth century the bitter anti-Semitic prejudice, which was so marked in mediæval times, again broke out in Europe. It did not spring directly, as of old, from religious antipathy to the Hebrew people, but rather from jealousy of their commercial success. The French socialists hated the capitalist wherever found, but most of all they hated the Jewish capitalist. They violently denounced him as an intriguer, a usurer, and an extortioner. He was, they declared, "a man without a country," who was moved by avarice, but never by patriotism.[1] In the midst of these attacks

[1] A series of abusive articles entitled "The Jews in the Army" appeared in the Paris *Libre Parole* in May, 1892. That paper said in its issue of May 23:

an event occurred which seemed to give new point to their accusations, and which was destined not only to convulse France, but even to imperil the existence of the Republic.

For some time there had been a "leakage" in the military secret-service department. Suspicion fell upon Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer employed in that department. He was arrested (1894) charged with treasonable correspondence with a foreign power — presumably with Germany. The accusation was based on an unsigned, undated "bordereau" or memorandum found in the wastebasket of a member of the German embassy in Paris.

Dreyfus was tried by a court-martial sitting with closed doors. Certain experts testified that an examination of the prisoner's handwriting proved that he was the author of the treasonable memorandum. Other experts refused to coincide with that opinion. This unsatisfactory circumstantial evidence was all that was openly produced in court, but later it was reënforced by several secret documents incriminating Dreyfus, which the head of the War Department showed privately to the judges, but not to the accused or to his counsel.

The court found Dreyfus guilty. He was sentenced to be publicly degraded, to be expelled from the army, and to be imprisoned for life on Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guiana. Dreyfus protested his innocence, but the only person who believed him was his devoted young wife. She begged to share his captivity; and, when refused, resolved never to rest until she had secured a new trial for her husband.

After Captain Dreyfus had been transported to his island prison, a telegram was found (1896) which aroused suspicion

"Hardly had the Jews gained a footing in the army than they tried, by fair means or foul, to get the control of it into their hands. . . . Long ago they conquered our finance, our civil administration, and dictated the sentences imposed by our magistrates; they will become undisputed masters of France from the day when they get command of the army, and Rothschild gets possession of the scheme of mobilization — for what end we can guess at."

against Major Esterhazy, a French officer with a bad record and a worse character. He was court-martialed on charges of treasonable conduct, but was promptly acquitted. Later Esterhazy fled to London and there publicly confessed through the columns of the *London Chronicle* (1899) that he wrote the memorandum for which Dreyfus was suffering punishment.[1]

Meanwhile the vice president of the French Senate had become convinced that Dreyfus was innocent; so too had Colonel Picquart,[2] head of the military secret-service department. Zola, the famous novelist, had come to the same conclusion. He forthwith addressed a remarkable letter to President Faure,[3] in which he boldly accused the first court-martial of having illegally condemned Dreyfus on secret evidence. He next charged the second court-martial with having acquitted the notorious Esterhazy by order of the War Department.

The excitement caused by Zola's outspoken letter cannot be described. France was felt to be in a critical condition on account of the agitation of the Dreyfus case. There was danger of trouble with Germany and still greater danger of revolution at home. The anti-Semitic party and the advocates of militarism declared that the Jews were trying to clear Dreyfus, and that the honor of the country and of the French army was at stake. They denounced the proposed reopening of the case, and a Parisian mob gathered in the streets, shouting "Death to Zola!" and "Down with the Jews!" The novelist was tried for defamation of the military judges, and sentenced to a fine and imprisonment; he escaped the latter penalty by fleeing to England.

Some months later, Colonel Henry, who had succeeded Colonel Picquart as chief of the military secret-service department, confessed that he had forged one of the principal documents which had been privately used to convict Dreyfus. He

[1] The anti-Semitic press of Paris declared that the Jews had bribed Esterhazy to make a false confession. [2] Picquart (peek-kar'). [3] See Paragraph 234.

did it, he said, "for the good of the country." A few days after he made this confession he was found dead in his cell with his throat cut. It was given out that he had committed suicide.

The pressure for the reopening of the Dreyfus case now became well-nigh irresistible. Several influential Parisian journals demanded it and would not be silenced. The Court of Appeals conceded that the case admitted of revision, and many leading men asked for it. On the other hand, the anti-Semitic press and the majority of the army officials did everything in their power to stop the movement. But the French government took a decided stand and resolved that, whatever might be the political risk, a new trial should be ordered.

Dreyfus was accordingly brought back to France (1896) and summoned to meet a new court-martial. Contrary to expectation that tribunal found him guilty of treason, but with extenuating circumstances, and sentenced him to five years' imprisonment. The anti-Jewish party and the army hailed the result with cheers, but great numbers of thoughtful Frenchmen, who held the honor of their country sacred, burned with indignation. Outside of France the leading journals generally declared that the final verdict of the military judges condemned only the army officials who pronounced it. The president of the Republic seems to have shared that belief, for he remitted the sentence and set the prisoner free.

Later, the fear arose that a revival of the Dreyfus case might alienate the army and endanger the stability of the Republic. To prevent further discussion and further appeals to courts, the legislature passed an amnesty bill (1900), making it impossible to bring criminal prosecution against any one connected with the affair.

Dreyfus and Zola both protested against that act as unjust, since it might prevent them from establishing their innocence. In an impassioned appeal to the president, the novelist declared

that a thing can never be finally settled until it is settled right. Eventually the Court of Appeals declared Dreyfus innocent; he was reinstated in the army and promoted to the rank of major.

The full result of this strange and tragic case, with its tissue of falsehoods, forgeries, and suicide, if not assassination, could not be seen until later. But it made two things clear: First, it showed the power of the press for evil when reckless of restraint, and its power for good when moved by true patriotism and devotion to justice. Secondly, the Dreyfus case showed the peril to which France had exposed herself in exciting a bitter race prejudice and in fostering a militarism which, while it lasted, hesitated at nothing to make itself feared and to maintain its own selfish supremacy.

236. **The Act of Associations.** — Before the Dreyfus case closed, the Liberal party in France undertook an educational reform. The party deemed it necessary that all children should be taught loyalty to the Republic. The common schools were already engaged in this work, and every pupil was eager to salute the national flag. But there were nearly twenty thousand religious associations, holding property worth a billion of francs, that were carrying on schools taught by monks or nuns, who were believed to favor the restoration of monarchical government.

A majority in Parliament regarded these schools as dangerous to the State. They accordingly passed a measure called the Law of Associations (1901). This law limited the amount of property which the associations could hold, and it required every one of their schools to obtain a license to teach, and to report what their course of instruction was. Over five thousand associations applied for licenses, but few received them.

The execution of the law created great excitement in certain sections, more especially in Brittany and Normandy, where most of the population have always been ardent Catholics. Many free

schools conducted by zealous teachers of that faith, and many convent schools, were forcibly closed. This act was a terrible blow to the devoted nuns and sisters of charity, who were giving their lives to the instruction of the young.

But the officers of the law did their work even when it roused the determined resistance of the country people and led to serious riots. In fact there was a time when the authorities feared that some districts might rise in such numbers as to threaten the stability of the government.

Three years later (1904) a stringent measure declared that all denominational teaching in schools must entirely cease within a period of ten years. This radical decree seemed to foreshadow the enactment of one still more radical; namely, the disestablishment of the Catholic Church in France.

237. Separation of Church and State. — In 1905 that omen was fulfilled. When Napoleon signed the Concordat (see page 267) by which he restored Catholicism to France, his motive was far from unselfish. He desired, as he said, to obtain control over the Church in order to further his own ambitious plans.[1] In that scheme he signally failed, but the solemn agreement he had made with the Pope continued to stand for more than a century.

Then (1905) the French Republic voted by a decisive majority[2] to repeal the Concordat and to absolutely separate the Church from the State. The law ordered that in future no taxes should be collected for the support of any form of religion; but it offered opportunities to all churches — Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Mohammedan[3] — to organize Associations for Public Worship.

[1] "En signant cet acte fameux, le Premier Consul avait dit: 'Le clergé est une force; je veux m'en saisir.'" — Histoire de France par Victor Duruy, II, 612.

[2] The Chamber of Deputies voted for the separation of Church and State by a majority of 108, and the Senate by a majority of 79.

[3] The Mohammedans were in the French colony of Algeria in Africa.

This momentous act, in which the Socialists took a very prominent part, was hailed by loud cries of "Long live the Republic!" "Long live Liberty!" The Protestants and the Jews of France, who were very small in numbers, complied with the law and formed Associations. Many moderate Catholics were willing to do likewise, but the Pope forbade it, and thirty millions of French people obeyed him. The church edifices, in which they have worshiped for generations, remain open to them, but the problem of their use still remains unsettled. It is a thorn in the flesh which the Republic would gladly remove if it could find the means.

The existing law, however, is not without its compensations. On the one hand, it frees the government from paying out a large amount of money to maintain the ancient Church; on the other hand, it entirely frees that Church from the control of the Republic.[1]

238. **National Progress.** — Napoleon III said when he ascended the throne: "The Empire means peace"; but he embroiled France in a disastrous war which ended in his own ruin. The Republic, whatever its faults, showed by its deeds that it really meant peace, and under it France prospered in no small degree.

"Happy is that country," says the old maxim, "which has no history" — whose course is so quiet, so uneventful, that it has nothing startling to record. For more than forty years France enjoyed great tranquillity so far as its relations with other nations were concerned. So, too, the Republic had a good degree of freedom from inward struggle. It is true that there were political agitations, political strifes, political scandals — what country can boast that it is exempt from them? The Jesuits, the Bourbon princes, and the Bonapartes

[1] Under the Concordat of 1801 the administration of Catholic public worship was put under the direction of the government; so, too, was the nomination of all French bishops and archbishops, subject, however, to approval by the Pope.

were expelled,[1] because the Republic believed that the influence of these men was reactionary, and that it favored the restoration of monarchical government. But there were no revolutions, no costly wars, no direct oppression of the great body of the people, no systematic restriction of liberty of thought and expression.

The first dangerous crisis occurred when the Dreyfus case threatened the welfare of the nation.[2] The second critical situation sprang from the Act of Associations in its bearings on religious instruction in schools, and its rupture of diplomatic relations with the Pope.[3] The third serious crisis was brought about when the French government deliberately severed the bond which united the Catholic Church with the State.[4]

239. Labor Questions; Syndicalists and Socialists. — Again, the nation was called to deal with labor troubles which threatened, at times, to disorganize the industry of the whole country. The silk weavers of Lyons started a formidable movement in a new direction. Not satisfied with stopping work, they threw their wooden-soled shoes into their looms and broke the machinery. From that time different bodies of strikers have followed their example. They did so much destruction to mechanical plants that the word *sabotage* was formally adopted to express it.[5]

Later on, a labor organization was formed calling themselves Syndicalists.[6] Their avowed object was to wage a battle against all employers until they should get complete possession of every mill, factory, and workshop in France, and should

[1] The Jesuits were expelled by President Grévy in 1880; the Bourbon princes and the Bonapartes were banished in 1886.

[2] See Paragraph 235. [3] See Paragraph 236. [4] See Paragraph 237.

[5] Sabotage: from *sabot*, a shoe made entirely of wood, such as French peasants usually wear; also, a wooden-soled shoe with leather uppers, such as factory operatives not infrequently wear.

[6] It will be noticed that there is a striking similarity between the professed principles of the Syndicalists of France and those of the Industrial Workers of the World who have made themselves conspicuous in America.

divide the entire profits of the business among themselves.[1] The difference between them and the Socialists — who are far more numerous — is that the Socialists aim to make the State the owner of all industrial enterprises, whereas the Syndicalists are determined that Labor alone shall possess them.

The Syndicalists and the radical wing of the Socialists agree in one thing, for both seek to gain their ends by the "General Strike" — that is, a strike which shall involve the activities not simply of a particular district, or a particular trade, or even group of trades, but shall bring the entire nation under its control. Thus far, however, the "General Strike" has proved, at best, to be only partially successful.

But Socialism is a great power in France, and it has made its influence felt in many ways. The government itself is not altogether free from tendencies in that direction. In addition to the control of the Post Office it has taken possession of the telegraph and telephone lines, and has begun to acquire the railways. The government also holds more than half of all the forest lands. Furthermore, it has a monopoly of the production, manufacture, and sale of tobacco, matches, and powder, which yields an annual revenue of over $90,000,000.

240. The Two Chief Forces. — On all leading public questions in France, a struggle exists between two great forces which are battling for the mastery. One of these powers is the highly centralized Republican government upheld by its army of officeholders and their wide-reaching voting influence. On the whole this great central power, notwithstanding its control of three important monopolies,[2] is favorable to individual effort, individual ownership, and individual enterprise.

[1] In September, 1912, the Syndicalist Congress at Havre, representing, it is claimed, about 400,000 workmen, resolved by a vote of 1057 to 55 in favor of continuing this policy of violence, destruction of machinery, and other efforts to bring on industrial revolution. But it should be remembered that the Syndicalists constitute only a small part of the labor movement in France.

[2] See Paragraph 239.

The second and opposing force, represented by the entire body of Socialists, has also a multitude of adherents. They are earnest, they are diligent in propagating their doctrines, and they carry the blood-red flag, which they hope some day to make the banner of France.

241. The Thrift of the French Farmer. — But any estimate of the French people must be at fault which fails to recognize the fact that full half of them are tillers of the soil. This large class is by nature conservative, and it has always been noted for its thrift. That shrewd, practical philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, believed that the moral condition of men depends to a considerable degree on their pecuniary condition — on what they save. "It is hard," said he, "for an empty bag to stand upright." No people in the world know the meaning of that saying better than the small French farmers. None lay aside a larger proportion of what they earn. None possess more of that sturdy independence of character which says, "If you have only four cents in your pocket, spend but one."

These hard workers have been the mainstay of France in more than one emergency. When the victorious Germans in 1871 demanded the payment of the enormous war indemnity of five thousand millions of francs,[1] the head of the French government declared that it was impossible. With tears in his eyes the gray-haired statesman [2] begged for better terms. But the Germans were inexorable and refused to withdraw their armies from the soil of France until the last franc was paid over to them.

In this dilemma the Rothschilds, the money kings of Europe, came forward; they had faith in the power of the French people to repay the loan. They advanced the required amount in two equal sums, and the patient industry of the workers, especially the agricultural workers, made it good. No wonder

[1] See Paragraph 231. [2] President Thiers (te'ar').

that a satirical artist of that day represented the farm laborer of the time carrying an armed soldier on his back, with a money lender on the soldier's back. It was a striking picture of the burden and the cost of war.

242. The Prosperity of France; Problem of the Birth Rate. — Yet in spite of that immense war debt, in spite of the loss besides of over nine thousand square miles of French territory by the forced surrender of Alsace and part of Lorraine,[1] France recovered from her crippled condition. Since then the country has gained enormously in general wealth and well-being. It has more than doubled the length of its railways and telegraph lines, increased its agricultural products, extended its manufactures and its commerce, and multiplied its books, newspapers, and schools.

More than that, the people have made progress in matters of self-government; in beginning and pushing forward great works; and in establishing business enterprises which give a certain share to all engaged in them, and which aim to reconcile the true interests of labor and capital.

The gravest offset to this encouraging outlook is the fact that France has practically come to a standstill in the growth of her population. She has endeavored to console herself by declaring that the nation is gaining in intellectual power and in material wealth, if not in the figures of the census reports. None the less the government has recognized the danger which threatens any people in the struggle of life when the death rate catches up with the rate of birth.

243. The Great European War. — In the summer of 1914 that danger was emphasized in an unmistakable way by the outbreak of a war destined to shake all Europe to its foundations and to make itself felt, directly or indirectly, throughout the globe.

Some of the seeds of the great conflict had long been germinating. If we go back to the treaty of peace which terminated

[1] See Paragraph 231.

the Franco-German War of 1871,[1] we see clearly that it was only a surface peace. The loss of Alsace and Lorraine rankled in the hearts of the French people.[2] They longed to retaliate, and year after year they spoke of "the revenge" they hoped to take.

Meanwhile the Germanic Empire, guided by Bismarck, the ever-vigilant "Iron Chancellor," negotiated a mutually protective compact with Austria and Italy, known as the Triple Alliance of 1882. Later the German army was reorganized and brought to the highest possible efficiency. To meet that formidable coalition, which threatened to isolate her, France sought and gained the friendship of Russia in 1894. The "Cordial Understanding" of these two Powers expanded, when England joined it in 1907, into the "Triple Understanding."[3]

Seven years later, August, 1914, these two rival military leagues, Germany and Austria on one side (for Italy remained neutral), and Russia, France, and England on the other, faced each other on the battlefield.[4] The German army — the Kaiser's splendid fighting machine — met its match in the troops sent by France and England. All three have made records which military experts say do honor to them.

As for France, she has not only surprised her antagonist, but she has surprised herself. Whatever may be the result of this

[1] See Paragraphs 230–231. [2] See Paragraph 231.

[3] In Europe often called the "Dual Entente," or the "Entente Cordiale," and later the "Triple Entente."

[4] The real causes of the great European War are a matter of controversy, and many years may pass before they are fully unraveled. On the other hand, the immediate occasion of the war is perfectly clear. A young Servian assassinated the Crown Prince of Austria; Austria held Servia responsible and made certain demands, some of which the king of that country felt obliged to refuse to concede. In consequence of this refusal, Austria attacked Servia, and Russia prepared to come to the aid of the Servians, who are a kindred race.

Germany had already assured Austria that she would support her in whatever demands she made on Servia. She now, as Austria's ally, declared war against Russia, and, a little later, against France and England, who were Russia's allies.

In order to reach France more expeditiously, the armies of the Kaiser forced their way across the neutral kingdom of Belgium, which resisted with all its power. The Belgian territory was devastated, and Germany now claims it as her own.

fearful conflict, one thing is certain — France has demonstrated, on the "firing line," not only that her sons are still virile but that they have never risen to higher stature of manhood.

In the outset of the great contest the Kaiser sent a powerful army across the neutral kingdom of Belgium to conquer France. The Belgians valiantly resisted this deliberate violation of their territory. But numbers finally prevailed against them and General von Kluck entered the French Republic.

From that time the Germans moved on Paris as steadily as a steam roller. Day by day they kept on until they reached the River Marne,[1] almost within gunshot of the French capital. The city seemed doomed. Paris listened for the thunder of the enemy's cannon, and held its breath. Could Marshal Joffre,[2] with the men at his command and with such help as the British could give, hope to beat back a force that seemed practically irresistible?

On September 6, 1914, Joffre answered that question by the Battle of the Marne. The next word that came reported the Germans in full retreat with the French and British in pursuit. The enemy fell back to the River Aisne,[3] some sixty miles or more from Paris. There they made a stand. An eminent British statesman, Arthur J. Balfour, classes the engagement fought on the Marne with the few decisive battles of the world which have marked turning-points in the history of mankind.

In 1917 America cast in her lot, in the Great European War, with the Powers fighting against the Kaiser in behalf of liberty and democracy. In 1918 the Germans made a second advance on Paris, but the allied French, British, and American forces, under Marshal Foch,[4] hurled them back with heavy loss. Eventually the Allies expect to hear the command: "On to Berlin!" Then they will set forward to drive the Kaiser's armies to the country from which they first came. When they succeed, France and Belgium will be free.

[1] Marne (marn). [2] Joffre (zhofr). [3] Aisne (ane). [4] Foch (fōshe).

244. **General Summary; Conclusion.** — On the title-page of this book the following quotation from one of the foremost historians of the nineteenth century may be found: "There is hardly any great idea, hardly any great principle of civilization, which has not had to pass through France in order to be disseminated."

Perhaps in closing this brief history we cannot do better than ask how far the facts presented in this volume justify such a statement. Let us begin with the earliest times.

I. We know that Roman civilization had a most important influence on Europe. If we inquire how that influence was preserved, we must look to France as one of the chief agents in the work. Nowhere in Europe, outside of Italy, do we find the remains of such important Roman cities as we do in France. The size and splendor of the theaters, temples, aqueducts, and other buildings, still standing in certain parts of the country, show us what flourishing colonies Cæsar planted in Gaul many years before Christ. There too the Latin language took root. There Roman law and Roman culture were perpetuated,[1] so that we may say that, whatever the world has gained from these sources, it owes much of it to France.

II. After the fall of Rome, Feudalism organized society on a new basis, — the holding of land on terms of military service and the fidelity of man to man. However imperfect that system, it was evidently an advantage at the time; it secured a degree of order and prosperity that would otherwise have been impossible. It found its earliest and its most complete development in France,[2] and from France it was transplanted in a modified form to England.

III. Consider the Crusades. They brought Europe into direct and vital contact with the civilization of the east. They extended geographical knowledge. They brought in new products, new ideas, and finally they were the means, directly or

[1] See Paragraph 9. [2] See Paragraphs 34–36, 48.

indirectly, of effecting great and salutary political and social changes. Well, the Crusades, as we know, began in France. Throughout their course until the last Crusade, which ended with the death of St. Louis, France took a very prominent, if not indeed the chief, part.[1] Whatever advantage resulted from them, France must have the credit in large measure.

IV. Let us turn to Education. In this respect France undoubtedly led the nations of the Middle Ages. "The University of Paris was the first great intellectual center of Europe."[2] Scholars flocked to it by thousands from England and the countries of the continent. Through its influence knowledge was kept alive and disseminated, so that, in one sense, the French university has been the mother of all that have been subsequently founded throughout the world.

V. With respect to Religious Toleration we find that France was likewise a pioneer. The Edict of Nantes was, as we have seen, the first formal recognition, by any leading nation of Europe, of the principle of liberty of conscience.[3] The edict was revoked in the next century; but it had set the example, and such examples are never wholly lost.

VI. We come next to Political Liberty and Constitutional Monarchy. Here the preëminence belongs to England. Her charters of rights, her people's parliaments, had no parallel in France until the Revolution. But, on the other hand, the principle that "all men are created equal" or entitled to equal rights and privileges before the law, — that principle which is the corner stone of the Constitution of the United States, — had its origin and earliest expression in France.[4] To France Europe is indebted very largely for the progress of this salutary truth and for its embodiment in legal forms and safeguards.

VII. In Industrial Civilization and in the Physical Sciences it is the Anglo-Saxon race that again stands preëminent. France

[1] See Paragraphs 51, 63–64.
[2] See Paragraph 62.
[3] See Paragraph 132.
[4] See Paragraph 174.

did not discover the law of gravitation, did not build the first railway, launch the first steamship, or send the first telegraphic messages; but she first tunneled the Alps, showed the world the first photograph, discovered in Europe the art of making porcelain, built the first interoceanic ship canal and began the second,[1] constructed the first successful automobile, and was the first European nation to experiment with the motor aëroplane.[2] In the field of science, the labors of Pasteur laid the foundation of bacteriology, which makes known the effects of certain germs in health and disease, and sets forth the practical uses of other germs in agriculture and various occupations.[3] In the field of decorative art work, in all its forms, France still leads the world.

VIII. Finally, let us take up Literature. Here, in two important respects, — clearness of expression and range of influence,[4] — France is acknowledged to stand at the head of the countries of Europe.

Sir James Stephen[5] says, "The palm of habitually expressing the most profound thoughts in the most simple and intelligible forms of speech must be awarded not to England, but to France." Lord Macaulay,[6] in speaking of England and France, says, "The literature of France has been to ours what Aaron was to Moses — the expositor of great truths, which would else

[1] See Paragraphs 225, 230.

[2] In 1885 Gottlieb Daimler, a German, invented the internal-combustion engine using gasoline. The following year he fitted his new motor to a bicycle. Levassor, a French inventor, bought the right to use this motor, and in 1887 he applied it to the automobile. From that time this wonderful self-propelling road vehicle became a *going concern.*

In 1879 Victor Tatin, of France, invented an aëroplane, driven by compressed air, but it never obtained any marked degree of success. Nearly thirty years later, Santos Dumont, of Paris, following the example set by the Wright brothers of Ohio, began to drive the aëroplane (1906) by a gasoline motor, similar to that used in the automobile. That improvement revolutionized the machine, and the power of man to fly became a certainty — but a certainty attended by many perils. Furthermore, the flying machine has since shown itself to be indispensable in war.

[3] See Professor H. W. Conn's Germ Life, p. 14. [4] See Paragraph 151.

[5] Stephen's Lectures on the History of France (Lecture XVIII, "Power of the Pen in France").

[6] Macaulay's Essays ("Walpole's Letters").

have perished for want of a voice to utter them with distinctness. . . . Isolated in our situation, isolated by our manners, we found truth, but we did not impart it. France has been the interpreter between England and mankind."

So too Goethe, in one of his conversations with Eckermann, while speaking of Napoleon's invasion of Germany, said of France: "How could I, to whom the question of culture and barbarism alone is all-important, hate a nation which is among the most cultured of the world, and to which I owe so great part of my own culture?"

Such is a brief summary of the influence of the people whose history we have been examining. It shows us that France has originated much and disseminated more. The Anglo-Saxons are colonizers of nations — the French, of ideas. For this reason, the movements which are now taking place in the great transatlantic republic will be watched with interest, since experience proves that what France is thinking and attempting to-day, Europe, and perhaps America as well, may be thinking and attempting to-morrow.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL DATES IN FRENCH HISTORY

[The * marks the most important dates.
The ? marks the dates that cannot be given with exactness.]

I. The Earliest Period

Greek colony of Massalia (Marseilles) founded in Gaul, 597? B.C.
Roman colony of Province (Provence) founded in Gaul, 125 B.C.
Battle of Aix, 102 B.C.

II. The Roman Period

*Cæsar conquers and occupies Gaul, 58–51 B.C.
Christianity introduced into Gaul, A.D. 160?
Persecution of Christians begins, 170?
*Constantine tolerates Christianity, 313.
German invasion of Gaul begins, 350?
Julian proclaimed Emperor at Paris, 360.
*Battle of Châlons, 451.

III. The Merovingian Period

*Clovis begins the Merovingian line of kings, 481.
*Conversion and baptism of Clovis, 496.
Conquers and consolidates the greater part of Gaul, 500–511.
His kingdom divided among his sons, 511.
Rise of Austrasia and Neustria, 558?
Wars of Brunhilda and Fredegonda, 570–613?
Mayors of the Palace become prominent, 600?
Dagobert, 628–638.
Mayoralty of *Pepin* begins, 680.
*Battle of Testry, 687.
Mayoralty of *Charles Martel* begins, 715.
*Battle of Tours, 732.

IV. The Carolingian Period

Pepin begins the Carolingian line of kings, 752.
*The "Donation of Pepin" establishes the temporal power of the pope, 755.
Charlemagne, 768.
Campaign in Lombardy, 773.
Donation to the Church, 774.
Battle of Roncesvalles, 778.
Conquers the Saxons, 772–803.
Establishes the schools of the palace, 788
*Is crowned Emperor of the West, 800.
Struggle of the descendants of Charlemagne for the Empire, 841.
*Oath of Strasburg (marks the beginning of the French language), 842.
*Treaty of Verdun (marks the beginning of the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy), 843.
Invasion of the Northmen and siege of Paris, 885.
*Settlement of Northmen in western France (Normandy), 911.

V. House of Capet

*Hugh Capet, first king of France proper, 987.
The feudal system completely organized, 987?
Robert, 996.
Expectation of the end of the world, 999.
Henry I, 1031.
The Truce of God, 1033.
Philip I, 1060.
*William, Duke of Normandy, conquers England, 1066.
*The First Crusade, 1095.
Louis VI, 1108.
*Beginning of the rise of free towns, 1112.
War with England, 1119.
Condemnation of the teachings of Abélard, 1122.
Louis VII, 1137.
Philip Augustus, 1180.
*University of Paris established on a firm foundation, 1200.
*Philip conquers Normandy, 1202–1205.
*Crusade against the Albigenses begins, 1208.
*Battle of Bouvines, 1214.
Louis VIII, 1223.
Louis IX (St. Louis), 1226.
*He establishes the Parliament of Paris, 1258.

Leads the last crusade against the Mohammedans, 1270.
Philip III, 1270.
*He grants the first patent of nobility to a commoner, 1274?
Philip the Fair, 1285.
He seizes Aquitaine, 1295.
Battle of Courtrai, 1302.
Quarrel with the pope, 1302.
*First States-General summoned, 1302.
Removal of the papacy to Avignon ("Babylonish Captivity"), 1309.
Persecution and suppression of the Templars, 1312.
Louis X, 1314.
Philip V, 1316.
Charles the Fair, 1322.

VI. House of Valois

Philip VI, 1328.
*Beginning of the Hundred Years' War with England, 1337.
Battle of Sluys, 1340.
*Battle of Crécy, 1346.
*Gunpowder begins to be used in war, 1346.
Edward III takes Calais, 1347.
*Acquisition of Dauphiné, 1349.
John the Good, 1350.
*Battle of Poitiers, 1356.
Étienne Marcel and the States-General, 1357.
The Jacquerie, 1358.
*Treaty of Brétigny, 1360.
Charles V, 1364.
Charles VI, 1380.
Wars between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, 1410.
Battle of Agincourt, 1415.
Treaty of Troyes, 1420.
Charles VII, 1422.
*Joan of Arc raises the siege of Orléans, 1429.
Charles VII is crowned at Reims, 1429.
Joan of Arc burned, 1431.
*Institution of a standing army and of fixed taxation to support it, 1445.
*Conquest of Aquitaine, 1453.
End of the Hundred Years' War, 1453.
The "New Learning," 1453.
Louis XI, 1461.
*Establishes communication by post, 1464.
Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 1467.
*Louis XI introduces printing into France, 1469.
*Acquires Burgundy, 1477.
*Acquires Provence, 1481.
Charles VIII, 1483.
*Rise of Tiers État, 1484.
First Bible printed in French, 1488.
*Acquires Brittany, 1491.
*Begins Italian wars, 1494.
*The Renaissance begins in France, 1494?
Louis XII, 1498.
Francis I, 1515.
Continues the Italian wars, 1515.
*Sends exploring expeditions to America, 1524.
Persecutes the Protestants, 1535.
*Calvin writes his "Institutes," 1536.
*Rabelais writes, 1536?
Peace of Crespy, close of the Italian wars, 1544.
Vaudois massacre, 1545.
Henry II, 1547.
Takes Metz, Toul, and Verdun, 1552.
War with England and Spain, 1557.
*The French take Calais, 1558.
Francis II, 1559.
Charles IX, 1560.
Conspiracy of Amboise, 1560.
Massacre at Vassy, 1562.
Huguenot wars begin, 1562.
*Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.
Henry III, 1574.
*The Catholic League, 1576.
*Montaigne writes his "Essays," 1580.

VII. House of Bourbon

Henry IV, 1589.
*Battle of Ivry, 1590.
Conversion of the king to Catholicism, 1593.
*Edict of Nantes (establishes religious toleration), 1598.
*Beginning of the French colonization of Canada, 1603.
Louis XIII, 1610.
*States-General meets; the Tiers État prominent, 1614.
*Richelieu takes La Rochelle (end of Protestantism as a political power), 1628.
*First French newspaper (*Gazette de France*), 1631.
France joins in the Thirty Years' War, 1635.
Louis XIV (ministry of Mazarin), **1643.**
Battle of Rocroy, 1643.
Part of Alsace joined to France, 1648.
*The Fronde, 1648.
*Pascal writes his "Provincial Letters," attacking the Jesuits, 1658.
The king becomes his own prime minister (reforms of Colbert begin), 1661.
Colbert begins the great French canals and other improvements, 1668?
First Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668.
Secret Treaty of Dover with Charles II of England, 1670.
War with the United Provinces (Holland), 1672.
Louis conquers Franche Comté, 1674.
Peace of Nimeguen, 1679.
Louis seizes Strasburg, 1681.
*Eminent orators, authors, and artists: Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Fénelon, Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, Boileau, La Bruyère, Rochefoucauld, Madame de Sévigné, Descartes, Pascal, Poussin, Claude Lorraine, 1635–1699.

*"Propositions" of Bossuet establishing independence of the French Church in great measure, 1682.
*Louis revokes the Edict of Nantes (see 1598), 1685.
Increased severity of the dragonnades, 1685.
Devastation of the Palatinate, 1689.
Battle of La Hogue, 1692.
*Peace of Ryswick, 1697.
War of the Spanish Succession begins, 1701.
Revolt of the Camisards, 1685–1703.
*Battle of Blenheim, 1704.
Battle of Oudenarde, 1708.
Battle of Malplaquet, 1709.
*Peace of Utrecht, 1713.
Louis XV, 1715.
*Law's Mississippi scheme, 1719.
War of Polish Succession, 1733.
France secures Lorraine, 1738.
War of the Austrian Succession begins, 1740.
Battle of Dettingen, 1743.
Battle of Fontenoy, 1745.
*Montesquieu writes his "Spirit of Laws," 1748.
Second Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.
The French take Madras, India, 1748.
*Rousseau writes his "Social Contract," Voltaire his "Manners and Spirit of Nations," Buffon his "Natural History" and his "Epochs of Nature," Diderot and D'Alembert edit the "Encyclopædia," 1752–1780.
*The Seven Years' War begins, 1756.
Battle of Plassy, India, 1757.
*The French lose India, 1757–1759.
*Loss of Canada by the French (battle of Quebec), 1759.
*Suppression of the Jesuits in France, 1761.
*Treaty of Paris; France gives up all her American possessions, 1763.
Conquest of Corsica, 1769.
Compact of Famine, 1771.
Louis XVI, 1774.
Ministry of Turgot, attempted reforms, 1774.
Ministry of Necker, 1776.
*Alliance with the United States, 1778.
Treaty of Versailles, 1783.
Beaumarchais writes "The Marriage of Figaro," satirizing the aristocracy, 1784.
Sieyès's Pamphlet, "What is the Tiers État?" 1789.
*Meeting of the **States-General** at Versailles, May 5, 1789.
The Tiers État adopts the name of National Assembly, 1789.
The name National Constituent Assembly is taken, 1789.
The Tennis-Court Oath, 1789.
*Fall of the Bastile (**Beginning of the Revolution**), July 14, 1789.
Lafayette chosen commander of the National Guard, 1789.
Insurrection of the peasantry against the nobles, 1789.
*Abolition of feudal privileges, August 4, 1789.
*Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789.
The king gives a banquet to officers at Versailles, 1789.
*The mob attack Versailles and bring the royal family to Paris, 1789.
First emigration of nobles, 1789.
*France divided into departments (feudal provinces abolished), 1789.
Titles of honor abolished, 1789.
*Church property appropriated by the state, 1790.
*Issue of assignats, 1790.
Civil Constitution of the Clergy (clergy made subject to the state), 1790.
*Feast of the Federation, the king ratifies the constitution, July 14, 1790.
Great emigration of nobles, 1790.
The Paris Commune organized in forty-eight sections, 1790.
*Death of Mirabeau, 1791.
Flight of the royal family, 1791.
*Declaration of Pilnitz (Austria and Prussia propose armed interference in behalf of Louis XVI), 1791.
Meeting of the **Legislative Assembly**, October 1, 1791.
Insurrection in La Vendée and other departments, 1791.
Girondist ministry appointed, 1792.
France declares war against Austria, 1792.
The king mobbed in the Tuileries, 1792.
*Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, 1792.
*Attack on the Tuileries; massacre of the Swiss Guard, August 10, 1792.
Imprisonment of the royal family, 1792.
Suspension of the royal power, 1792.
Further insurrections in La Vendée, 1792.
Invasion of France by foreign powers, 1792.
The September massacres, 1792.

VIII. The First Republic

Meeting of the **National Convention**, 1792.
*France declared a **Republic**, September 21, 1792.
First day of the Year One of the Republic, September 22, 1792.
*French generals ordered to revolutionize foreign countries, 1792.
*Execution of the king, January 21, 1793.
*Civil war in Brittany and La Vendée, 1793.
France declares war against Great Britain, Spain, and Holland, 1793.
Revolutionary Tribunal established, 1793
Committee of Public Safety organized, 1793.
*Fall of the Girondists, 1793.
*Reign of Terror begins June 2, 1793.
Insurrections in the provinces, 1793.

Charlotte Corday assassinates Marat, 1793.
The Maximum Law, 1793.
The law against "suspects," 1793.
Execution of the queen, 1793.
Execution of the Girondists, 1793.
Execution of Madame Roland, 1793.
*Destruction of Lyons, 1793.
*Worship of the Goddess of Reason, 1793.
Revolutionary calendar decreed, 1793.
"Noyades" (or massacres by drowning) at Nantes, 1793.
Execution of the Hébertists or atheistic party, 1794.
Execution of Danton and his friends, 1794.
Festival of the Supreme Being, 1794.
*Execution of Robespierre and end of the Reign of Terror, 1794.
The White Terror, 1795.
Batavian Republic proclaimed, 1795.

IX. The Directory

Napoleon Bonaparte suppresses insurrection of the Paris sections, 1795.
New constitution (Constitution of the Year Three), 1795.
Government by five directors, 1795.
Napoleon marries Madame Josephine Beauharnais, 1796.
*Italian campaign (Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli), 1796.
Formation of the Cisalpine Republic of Italy, 1797.
*Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797.
War in Egypt and Syria, 1798–1799.
Switzerland organized as the Helvetic Republic, 1798.
Fall of the Directory, 1799.

X. The Consulate

*Napoleon made First Consul, 1799.
Passage of the Great St. Bernard, 1800.
*Battle of Marengo, 1800.
*Battle of Hohenlinden, 1800.
*Peace of Lunéville, 1801.
French evacuate Egypt, 1801.
*Concordat with the pope; Catholicism reëstablished in a modified form in France, 1801.
Expedition to San Domingo; seizure of Toussaint Louverture, 1802.
Peace of Amiens, 1802.
Napoleon made First Consul for life, 1802.
War declared against England, 1803.
Napoleon sells Louisiana, 1803.
Duke of Enghien shot, 1804.

XI. The First Empire

*Napoleon assumes the title of Emperor of the French, 1804.
Establishes camp at Boulogne for invasion of England, 1804.
Crowned emperor by the pope at Paris, 1804.
*Code Napoleon published, 1804.
Crowned king of Italy at Milan, 1805.
Capitulation of Ulm, 1805.
*Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.
*Battle of Austerlitz, 1805.
Revolutionary calendar ended December 31, 1805.
Louis Bonaparte made king of Holland, 1806.
*Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.
Battles of Jena and Auerstädt, 1806.
*Berlin Decree, 1806.
Battle of Eylau, 1807.
Battle of Friedland, 1807.
*Peace of Tilsit, 1807.
Jerome Bonaparte made king of Westphalia, 1807.
Milan Decree, 1807.
Napoleon occupies Rome, 1808.
Makes Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain, 1808.
*Peninsular War begins, 1808.
Battle of Aspern, 1809.
Pope excommunicates Napoleon, 1809.
*Napoleon seizes the pope, 1809.
*Battle of Wagram, 1809.
*Divorce from Josephine, 1809.
*Napoleon marries Marie Louise, 1810.
*Incorporates Holland with France, 1810.
Birth of a son ("King of Rome") to Napoleon, 1811.
Russian campaign, 1812.
Battle of Borodino, 1812.
*Burning of Moscow, 1812.
*Retreat of Napoleon, 1812.
*Battle of Leipsic, 1813.
*Napoleon abdicates, 1814.

XII. Restoration of the Bourbons

Louis XVIII, April 6, 1814.
Louis grants a liberal charter, 1814.
Napoleon exiled to Elba, 1814.
Napoleon escapes from Elba, 1815.

XIII. "The Hundred Days"

Napoleon reaches Paris, March 20, 1815.
*Battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815.
Second abdication of Napoleon, 1815.

XIV. Second Restoration of the Bourbons

Louis XVIII restored to power, July 8, 1815.
Napoleon sent to St. Helena (died 1821), 1815.
Marshal Ney shot, 1815.
*Chateaubriand, Thiers, Lamartine, Béranger, George Sand, Balzac, Madame

de Staël, Michaud, Guizot, Sismondi, Martin, Laplace, St. Pierre, Sainte-Beuve, Comte, 1815.
Murder of the Duke of Berry, 1820.
French interference in Spain, 1823.
Charles X, 1824.
The king disbands the National Guard, 1827.
War in behalf of Greece (battle of Navarino), 1827.
*Algiers taken by the French, 1830.
*Coup d'État (ordinances abolishing the freedom of the press and restricting political liberty), 1830.
*Revolution of July, and flight of the king, 1830.
Louis Philippe proclaimed King of the French, **1830.**
Labor troubles, 1831.
Political insurrections, 1831.
*The cholera ravages France, 1832.
*First line of railway opened in France, 1834.
Fieschi attempts to assassinate the king, 1835.
Louis Napoleon attempts an insurrection at Strasburg, 1836.
*Daguerre invents the photograph, 1839.
Remains of Napoleon I. brought from St. Helena to Paris, 1840.
Second attempted insurrection by Louis Napoleon, 1840.
*First French line of ocean steamships, 1840.
*First French telegraph line, 1845.
The Spanish marriages, 1846.
Reform banquets prohibited, 1848.
*Revolution; abdication of Louis Philippe, 1848.

XV. The Second Republic

A provisional government appointed, 1848.
*National Workshops established, 1848.
Labor revolt in Paris; Paris in a state of siege, 1848.
***Louis Napoleon** elected president, **1848.**
Louis Napoleon suppresses the Roman Republic and restores the pope, 1849.
Telegraphic cable laid between France and England, 1851.
*Coup d'État (Louis Napoleon overthrows the constitution), 1851.
Louis Napoleon made president for ten years, **1851.**

XVI. The Second Empire

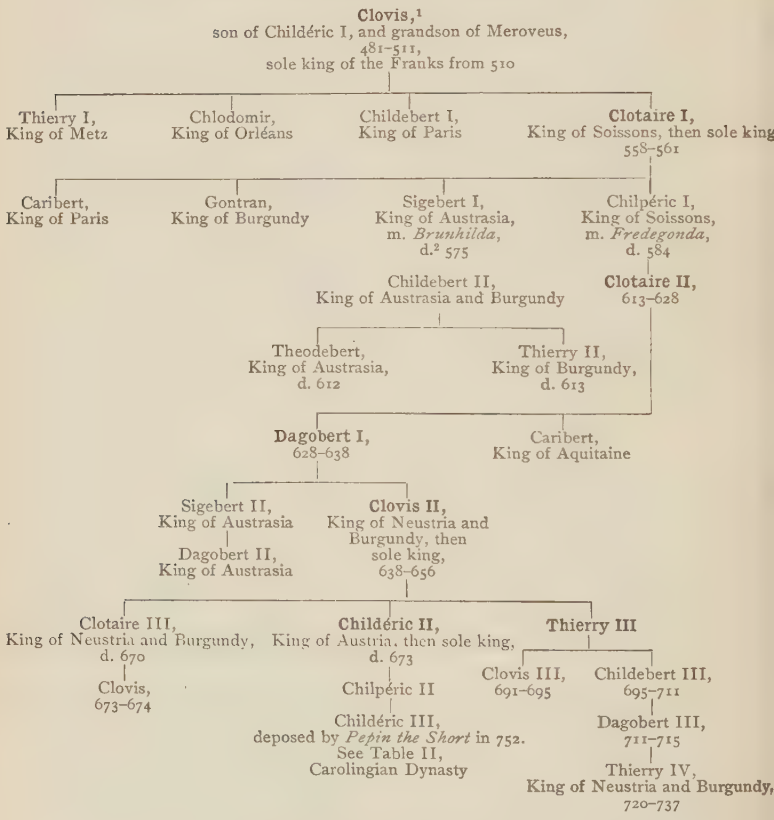
***Louis Napoleon** proclaimed Emperor of the French with the title of Napoleon III, **1852.**
Marries the Countess Eugénie, 1853.
*Crimean War, 1854–1856.
Industrial exhibition (World's Fair) at Paris, 1855.
***Great improvements made in Paris, 1856.**
Orsini attempts to assassinate the emperor, 1858.
War in Italy, 1859.
*Nice and Savoy annexed to France, 1860.
War with Mexico, 1862.
"The Crowning of the Edifice" (liberal concessions made by the emperor), 1869.
*Lesseps opens the Suez Canal, 1869.
A Plebiscite, or vote of the people, sustains the policy of the emperor, 1870.
*Franco-Prussian War, 1870.
*Defeat and surrender of Napoleon at Sedan, 1870.

XVII. The Third Republic

*France declared a **Republic,** 1870.
Provisional government organized, 1870.
*Siege of Paris, 1870.
***M. Thiers** elected president, **1871** (resigned 1873).
The king of Prussia proclaimed Emperor of Germany at Versailles, 1871.
Capitulation of Paris, 1871.
*Treaty of peace (France loses Alsace, part of Lorraine, and agrees to pay war indemnity of $1,000,000,000), 1871.
*Insurrection of the Commune, 1871.
Expulsion of the French from Alsace, 1872.
Marshal MacMahon elected president (resigned 1879), **1873.**
M. Grévy elected president, **1879.**
Prince Napoleon (son of Napoleon III) killed in the Zulu War, 1879.
*Expulsion of the Jesuits, 1880.
M. Grévy reëlected president (resigned 1887), **1885.**
*Expulsion of the Bourbon princes, 1886.
M. Carnot elected president (December 3), **1887.**
The hundredth anniversary of the taking of the Bastile (July 14, 1789), 1889.
General Boulanger tried for conspiracy against the government, 1889; sentenced to imprisonment for life, 1889.
Trial of Lesseps for Panama Canal frauds, 1892.
Outbreak of anarchist outrages, 1893.
*Assassination of President Carnot, June 24, 1894.
M. Casimir-Périer elected president, **1894.**
President Casimir-Périer resigns, 1895.
M. Felix Faure elected president, **1895.**
*The Dreyfus case, 1894–1899.
President Faure died, 1899.
M. Émile Loubet elected president, **1899.**
*Population of France, stationary.
*Act of Associations, 1901.
*Separation of Church and State, 1905.
*Rise of the Syndicalists (1905).
M. Armand Fallières elected president, 1906.
M. Raymond Poincaré elected president, 1913.
*The great European War, 1914.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE

I — THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY



[1] The names of the sole rulers are given in bold-faced type. [2] d. died.

II — THE CAROLINGIAN[1] DYNASTY

Pepin of Heristal,
Duke of the Franks
(king in all but name).
He was a descendant of Pepin of
Landen, Mayor of the Palace in
Austrasia, d. 714

Charles Martel
(Mayor of the Palace
in Austrasia), 715–741

Pepin the Short.
He deposed Childéric III in 752.
See Table I, Merovingian
Dynasty, 752–768

Charlemagne,
768–814.
Crowned Emperor in 800

Louis the Gentle,
Emperor, 814–840

Lothaire,
King of Italy, and
Emperor, 840–855

Pepin

Louis,
King of Germany

Charles the Fat,
King of Italy, and Emperor,
881–888; King of France,
884–888

Charles the Bald,
King of Neustria and Burgundy, 840–877;
Emperor, and King of Italy, 875–877

Louis II,
877–879

Louis III,
King of northern France,
879–882

Carloman,
King of Aquitaine and Burgundy,
879–884

Charles the Simple,
892–929

Louis IV,
936–954

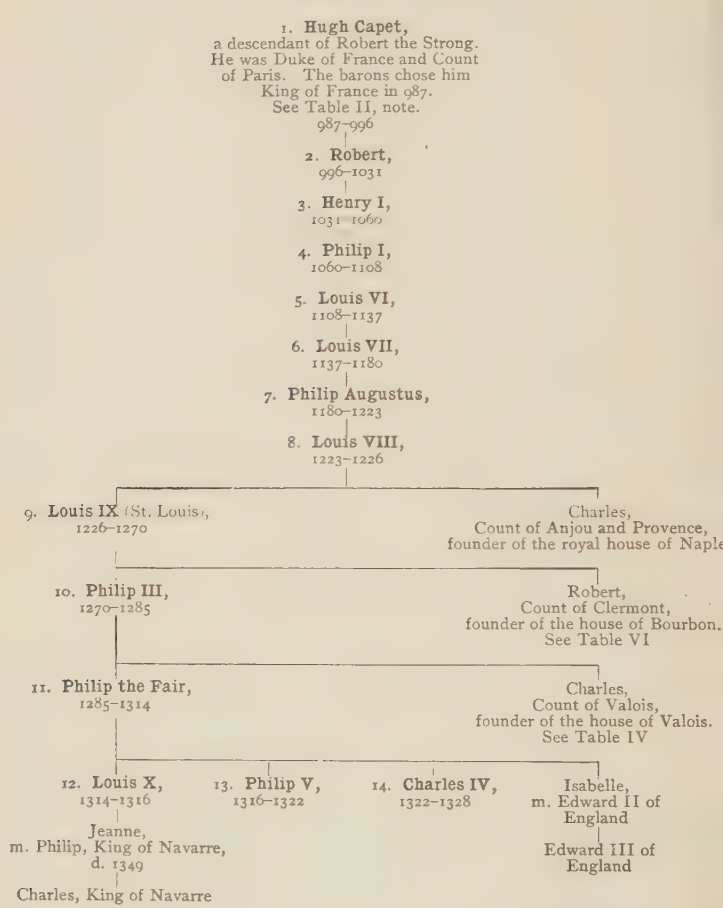
Lothair,
954–986

Charles,
Duke of Lorraine

Louis V,[2]
986–987

[1] Name derived from *Carolus Magnus* (Charlemagne), the chief representative of the dynasty.
[2] Louis V left no children. The crown should therefore have passed to his uncle Charles, Duke of Lorraine, but the feudal barons chose Hugh Capet, one of their number, king in 987. See Table III, Capetian Dynasty.

III — THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY



IV—HOUSE OF VALOIS

15. **Philip VI,**
son of Charles, Count of Valois,
a younger son of Philip III of the Capetian Dynasty.
See Table III, No. 10.
1328–1350

16. **John the Good,**
1350–1364

17. **Charles V,** 1364–1380
Louis, Duke of Anjou, founder of the second royal house of Naples
John, Duke of Berry
Philip, Duke of Burgundy, d. 1404
John the Fearless
Philip the Good
Charles the Bold
Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, m. Maximilian, Archduke of Austria

18. **Charles VI,** 1380–1422
Louis, Duke of Orléans, founder of the house of Valois-Orléans.
See Table V

19. **Charles VII,** 1422–1461

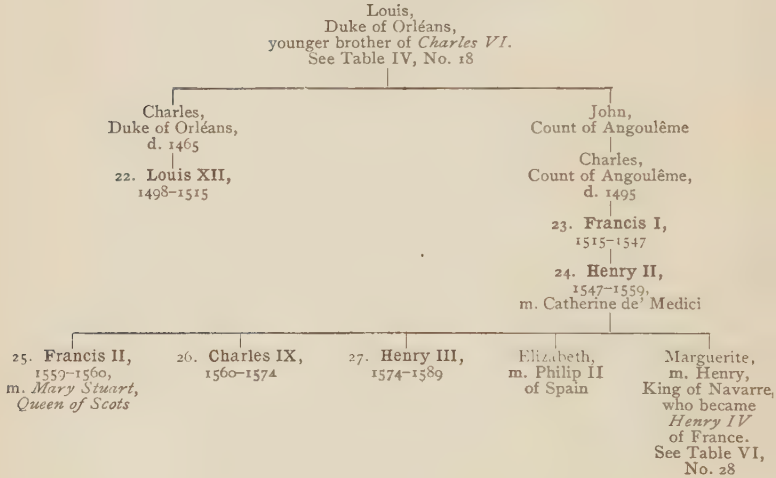
20. **Louis XI,** 1461–1483

21. **Charles VIII,** 1483–1498

Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Sovereign of the Netherlands, d. 1506
m.
Juana, heiress of Castile and Aragon

Charles V,
King of Spain, Sovereign of the Netherlands, and Emperor of Germany, 1519

V—HOUSE OF VALOIS-ORLÉANS



VI—HOUSE OF BOURBON

Robert, Count of Clermont, younger son of St. Louis (see Table III, No. 9), m. Beatrice, heiress of Bourbon. By her he had a son, Louis, Duke of Bourbon. From him descended Antoine, Duke of Vendôme, who m. Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. Their descendants were as follows:

28. **Henry IV,**
1589–1610,
King of Navarre and France.
He m., first, Marguerite of Valois; secondly, Marie de' Medici

29. **Louis XIII,**
1610–1643,
m. Anne of Austria

Henrietta Maria,
m. *Charles I of England*

30. **Louis XIV,**
1643–1715,
m. Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain

Philip, Duke of Orléans,
founder of the house of Bourbon-Orléans.
See Table VIII, No. 36

Louis the Dauphin,
d. 1711

Louis, Duke of Burgundy,
d. 1712

31. **Louis XV,**
1715–1774,
m. Mary Lesczynska of Poland

Louis the Dauphin,
d. 1765

32. **Louis XVI,**
1774–1793,[1]
m. Marie Antoinette of Austria

Louis,
Count of Provence, afterward
34. **Louis XVIII,**
1814–1824

Charles,
Count of Artois, afterward
35. **Charles X,**
1824–1830

Maria Theresa,
m. Louis, Duke of Angoulême

Louis XVII,
never reigned,
d. 1795

Louis,
Duke of Angoulême,
m. Maria Theresa,
daughter of Louis XVI

Charles,
Duke of Berry,
assassinated
1820

Henry, Duke of Bordeaux,
Count of Chambord
(late claimant to the title of "Henry V"),
d. 1883; left no children

Louisa,
Duchess of Parma

[1] The First Republic, 1792–1799; the Consulate, 1799–1804; the First Empire (Napoleon I 1804–1814; Napoleon exiled to Elba; Louis XVIII proclaimed king; return of Napoleon from Elba flight of Louis XVIII; the "Hundred Days" (March 20 to June 23); restoration of Louis XVIII July 8, 1815. See Table VII, No. 33.

VII — GENEALOGY OF THE PRINCIPAL MALE MEMBERS OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY

Charles Bonaparte, d. 1785 m. Letizia Ramoline, d. 1836

- Joseph Bonaparte, became King of Naples and of Spain
- 33. **Napoleon I**, Emperor of the French, 1804–1814; m., first, Josephine Beauharnais; secondly, Marie Louise; d. at St. Helena, 1821
  - Napoleon II, King of Rome (son by Marie Louise), b. 1811, d. 1832
- Lucien Bonaparte
- Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, m. Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of the Empress Josephine
  - *Louis Napoleon*, 37. **Napoleon III**, Emperor of the French, 1852–1870. See Table VIII, No. 36
    - Louis Joseph, Prince Imperial, killed in the Zulu War in 1879
- Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia; d. 1860; had son, Prince Napoleon, b. 1822, d. 1891. He left two sons, viz., Victor, b. 1862, and Louis, b. 1864

VIII — HOUSE OF BOURBON-ORLÉANS

36. **Louis Philippe**, King of the French, 1830–1848, a descendant of Philip, Duke of Orléans, younger son of Louis XIII. See Table VI, No. 29. He was succeeded by *Napoleon III.* See Table VII, No. 37

Duke of Orléans, d. 1842

- *Count of Paris*, b. 1838, d. 1894; left son, *Prince Robert*, b. 1869
- Duke of Chartres, b. 1840; has two sons, b. 1866 and 1867

IX — THE RULERS OF FRANCE FROM HUGH CAPET

CAPETIAN DYNASTY

987 Hugh Capet
996 Robert
1031 Henry I
1060 Philip I
1108 Louis VI
1137 Louis VII
1180 Philip Augustus
1223 Louis VIII
1226 Louis IX (St. Louis)
1270 Philip III
1285 Philip IV
1314 Louis X
1316 Philip V
1322 Charles IV

HOUSE OF VALOIS

1328 Philip VI
1350 John the Good
1364 Charles V
1380 Charles VI
1422 Charles VII
1461 Louis XI
1483 Charles VIII
1498 Louis XII
1515 Francis I
1547 Henry II
1559 Francis II
1560 Charles IX
1574 Henry III

HOUSE OF BOURBON

1589 Henry IV
1610 Louis XIII
1643 Louis XIV
1715 Louis XV
1774 Louis XVI

THE FIRST REPUBLIC

1792 The Convention
1795 The Directory
1799 The Consulate

THE FIRST EMPIRE

1804 Napoleon I

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

1814 Louis XVIII

"THE HUNDRED DAYS"

1815 Napoleon I

THE SECOND RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

1815 Louis XVIII
1824 Charles X
1830 Louis Philippe

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

1848 Louis Napoleon, President

THE SECOND EMPIRE

1852 Napoleon III

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

1870 Provisional Government
1871 M. Thiers, President[1]
1873 Marshal MacMahon, President[2]
1879 M. Grévy, President
1885 M. Grévy, President[3]
1887 M. Carnot, President[4]
1894 M. Casimir-Périer, President[5]
1895 M. Félix Faure, President[6]
1899 M. Émile Loubet, President
1906 M. Armand Fallières, President
1913 M. Raymond Poincaré, President

[1] Resigned 1873. [2] Resigned 1879. [3] Resigned 1887. [4] Assassinated 1894.
[5] Resigned 1895. [6] Died in office 1899.

A SHORT LIST OF BOOKS ON FRENCH HISTORY

[Books marked * are early or contemporaneous history.]

I. General Histories

1. Kitchin's History of France, revised edition, 3 vols. [From the earliest period to the beginning of the Revolution.] One of the best English histories of France.
2. Guizot's History of France, 8 vols. [From the earliest period to 1789, with a continuation to 1848, by Madame Guizot De Witt. Translated by Robert Black.]
3. Martin, Histoire de France, 17 vols. [Depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789.] Considered the best history of France. The volumes on the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV have been translated.
4. Duruy, Histoire de France, 2 vols. [Depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1871.] A very excellent work.
5. Guizot's History of Civilization in France, 3 vols.
6. Rambaud, Histoire de la Civilisation Française, 3 vols.
7. Jervis's Student's History of France (Murray or Harpers).
8. Duruy's History of France, abridged and translated by Mrs. M. Carey.
9. C. K. Adams's Democracy and Monarchy (1789–1870).
10. G. B. Adams's The Growth of the French Nation.
11. Masson's Mediæval France.
12. Lebon's Modern France.
13. Lacombe's Short History of the French People.
14. Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, A.D. 395–1900, 12 vols. (See chapters on the History of France.)

II. Particular Periods

1. Parke Godwin's Ancient Gaul; Sergeant's The Franks; E. A. Freeman's Essays, The Franks and the Gauls.
*2. Eginhard's Life of Charlemagne.
3. Michelet's History of France, Vols. I and II.
*4. Joinville's Memoir of Saint Louis.
*5. Froissart's Chronicles (period of the "Hundred Years' War").
*6. Comines's Memoirs (Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Charles the Bold of Burgundy).
7. Willert's Life of Louis XI.
8. Ranke's Civil Wars and Monarchy in France in the 16th and 17th Centuries, 2 vols.
9. Baird's History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France, 2 vols.
*10. Sully's Memoirs of Henry IV, 4 vols.
11. Robson's Life of Richelieu.
12. Pardoe's Louis XIV.
13. Thackeray's Meditations at Versailles.
*14. Saint Simon's Memoirs of Louis XIV, abridged, 3 vols.
15. Perkins's Louis XV, 2 vols.
16. Thiers's Mississippi Bubble. Translated by Frank S. Fiske.
*17. Young's Travels in France in 1787–1789, 2 vols.
18. E. J. Lowell's The Eve of the French Revolution.
19. Rambaud, Histoire de la Révolution Française.
20. Gardiner's French Revolution (Epoch Series).
21. Carlyle's French Revolution.
22. Lanfrey's Napoleon, 4 vols. [To the preparation for the Russian campaign.]
*23. Madame de Rémusat's Memoirs of Napoleon, 2 vols.
24. Emerson's Essay on Napoleon.
25. Ropes's Napoleon.
26. Seeley's Napoleon.
27. Sloane's Napoleon, 4 vols. (beautifully illustrated).
28. Browning's Modern France. [From Louis XVIII to the presidency of MacMahon, 1879.]
29. Other works of value relating to the history of France are Stephen's Lectures, Lamartine's Rise of the Tiers Etat, Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution with Mackintosh's Reply, Van Laun's History of French Literature, Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, Martin's History of France from 1789 to 1881, 3 vols.; Lockwood's Constitutional History of France; Wilson's The State (France); Bodley's France (Constitutional and Political), 2 vols. See also The Cambridge Modern History; Lord Acton's Lectures; Myers' Mediæval and Modern History; Hazen's Modern European History; Robinson's Medieval and Modern Times; Abbott's Expansion of Europe, 2 vols.; Schapiro's Modern Europe.

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